The Outlook

Vol. 68 May 18, 1901 No. 3

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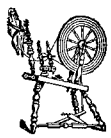

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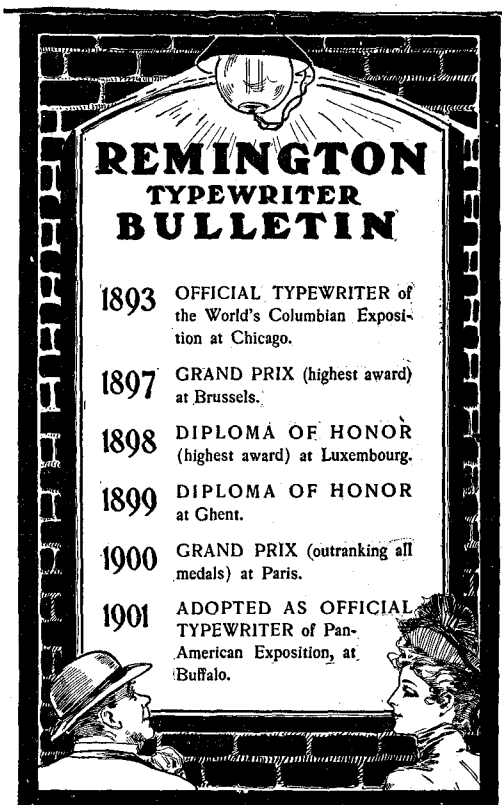
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The Albany Car Strike The trolley-car strike which for several days has "tied up" the lines of the United Traction Company of Albany and Troy seems to have grown out of two demands on the part of the men: first, that their union be recognized and its officers treated with; and, second, that non-union employees be discharged. The first of these demands is eminently reasonable, but, if the newspapers can be trusted, the vital point at issue is whether men working for the company shall be discharged on the demand of the union because they are not members of its organization. If this be true, we hope that the company (which now threatens to increase its non-union force) will refuse to yield, and that the citizens of Albany and Troy, without regard to class, will sustain the company. It is now proposed to submit the question to a representative of the company, a representative of the strikers, and a disinterested citizen. The attempt to force laborers to join a union to get employment is a far more serious violation of the rights of labor than of the rights of capital, and, if generally successful, will in the end demoralize if it does not destroy the unions themselves. Every workingman has a right to belong to a labor organization, if he chooses. He has an equal right to refuse to belong, and the denial of either right, whether by the labor or the capitalistic organization, is a species of despotism. Moreover, any policy which converts the labor union from a voluntary organization of free men into an organization partly made up of free men, partly of those who have been drafted into the organization against their will, is destructive of the organization itself. It can have no other effect than to sow seeds of dissension within the order, which, when the time of trial comes, when its strength is most needed, will cause it to break down for lack of moral coherence.

❀

A National Committee of Conciliation The right men took part in the Conference held in New York City last week by the National Committee on Conciliation and Arbitration in industrial disputes. This Committee was created at a Convention held in Chicago last December under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, and the object of last week's meeting was to formulate definitely the methods through which it should work. It sensibly decided that conciliation rather than arbitration offered the most hopeful field for its labor. Conciliation may be defined as arbitration before the war begins or war feeling is aroused. The Committee agreed that "the only reliable method of avoiding [industrial] disturbances is through full and frank conferences between employers and workmen, with the avowed purpose of reaching an agreement as to terms of employment;" and, in order to promote such conferences, decided to "establish a board or commission composed of employers and employees of judgment, experience, and reliability," who should keep in touch with all representative bodies of employers and employed, and enlist local committees similarly constituted to further conciliation in their respective localities. Two public meetings were addressed by members of the Conference—one in the Chamber of Commerce and the other in the Cooper Union. The meeting in the Chamber of Commerce was appropriately presided over by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. The first speaker at this meeting was Bishop Potter, who commented upon "the steady growth of intelligence of the

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workingmen." "I have often," he said, "served with them on different boards, and nothing has struck me more forcibly than their candor and open-mindedness." President Flint, of the United States Rubber Company, made a particularly effective speech, in which he noted that American labor was able to produce more cheaply than the Oriental labor which receives but one-fifth the wages enjoyed by our own workingmen, and that the only danger to America's expanding exports was that of conflicts between labor and capital. At the Cooper Union meeting President Mitchell, of the Mine Workers, said: "I do not presume that this Conference has solved the labor problem, but I believe that the plans agreed upon to-day will do much to prevent strikes and lockouts. Nearly all of the strikes which have occurred could have been avoided if the employers and the representatives of labor organizations had conferred." At the same meeting Mr. Gompers recognized the supreme interest of the public in plans to prevent war. "It will be a choice," he said, "between voluntary arbitration and compulsory arbitration where jail will await those who will not work under settlement ordered by the courts." To avoid the interference of the courts, classes as well as individuals must adjust their grievances in peace.

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The North River Bridge Bill Vetoed

Governor Odell, of New York, has vetoed the pernicious North River Bridge Bill, not only on the economic ground that it gave a private corporation, almost without compensation, an invaluable railway franchise along the docks on the west side of New York City, but also upon the broad political ground that the State Government ought not to wrest from the local government control of distinctively local concerns. The message raises Governor Odell still higher in the esteem of men of all parties, and helps to establish the home rule principle which all parties indorse in the abstract but so often violate in the concrete.

❀

Pennsylvania's Legislature Loses Control of the Purse

A decision of far-reaching importance was recently handed down by the highest appellate court of Pennsylvania, in which a startlingly new and much broader definition of the Governor's veto-power was established. We do not see its justification. The Constitution of the State declares that "the Governor shall have power to disapprove of any item or items of any bill making appropriations of money, . . . and the part or parts of the bill approved shall be the law, and the item or items disapproved shall be void, unless repassed," etc. The Legislature of 1899 appropriated the sum of eleven million dollars for the support and maintenance of the public schools of the State for two years. This amount the Governor, after the adjournment, reduced to ten million dollars. Previous executives had compelled private institutions to which appropriations had been made to file remittiturs for certain amounts, thus effectually cutting down the appropriation; but no Governor had ever before deliberately vetoed a part of an item. Steps were taken by some of the school districts to test the Governor's right, with the result that the Supreme Court has confirmed his action. Without entering into the legal aspects of the decision, its effect will be to make the Governor of the State the determining factor in all questions of the amount of money appropriated for any purpose. Not only can he determine whether an object or institution shall have State aid, but he can determine the amount, subject to the single limitation as to the maximum amount fixed by the Legislature, for the Court has held that he may reduce, but not increase, the amount. This decision carries still further the recent tendency to increase the power of the executive in city, State, and Nation. Inasmuch as the control of the public purse was the first substantial power wrested from the Crown by the English Parliament, and has been the source of most of the subsequent concessions to popular sovereignty, the decision of the Court strikes at the very foundations of representative government in Pennsylvania. The provision in the Pennsylvania Constitution giving the Executive the right to veto separate items in appropriation bills commended itself to the common sense of legislators as a means of checking the evil of "log-rolling," or inserting items to get the votes of particular men, when the Legislature did not really approve of

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these items. The Governor, it was argued, acting as the representative of the State as a whole, would veto just such items, and thus shut off appropriations for merely local or personal ends. But the use of the power thus granted to cut down a general appropriation for the common schools of the State is without any justification whatever. Unless the legislators in direct touch with the taxpayers in every county of the State are the best judges of what the people wish to give for public education, then parliamentary government is a failure.

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Dogs Taxed to Exempt Railroads

Governor La Follette, of Wisconsin, is having the same kind of an experience with his Legislature that Governor Pingree had with that of Michigan when trying to secure the fulfillment of platform pledges to equalize taxation. The platforms of both parties in Wisconsin at the last election demanded that the property of corporations should be taxed at the same rate as the property of individuals. The State Tax Commission, appointed by the Legislature of 1899 upon the demand of the friends of the railroads, reported that the railroads were not taxed much more than half as heavily as were farms and homes and business places throughout the State. In spite of platform pledges and the Commission's report, however, every effort to secure a higher tax upon railroad property has failed. Even the bill raising the tax upon gross receipts from four to five per cent., which would still leave the railroads more lightly taxed than the general public, was defeated in the Senate after it had passed the Assembly. In order to supply needed revenues, the Legislature passed instead an act taxing all the dogs in the State from one to three dollars each. Governor La Follette has vetoed this bill in a message which must commend itself to the people of the State. "The tax imposed," he says, "may not be esteemed by the Legislature a serious burden in itself, but it would add to burdens borne by the great majority of the people, which are already out of all proportion to those borne by others whose influence would seem to be more potent in shaping legislation." After reviewing the Legislature's rejection of the bills to prevent this unjust taxation of small property-owners by the just taxation of corporations, he concludes as follows: "I am unwilling to present to the people of this State, in lieu of legislation to equalize taxation, a scheme which may be described as an act to relieve the farmer or city home-owner of a small measure of increased tax upon his realty by imposing a license fee upon his dog." It is worthy of note that the same forces in the Wisconsin Legislature secured the defeat of the bill to equalize taxation which secured the defeat of the bill to establish direct primaries. The machines and the monopolies which wish to purchase legislative favor work hand in hand, so that the struggle against machine rule and that against monopoly rule are really but two parts of the same great conflict.

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Municipal Gains and Losses

The reports made to the National Municipal League at its session in Rochester, N. Y., last week, were in the main distinctly encouraging. From some cities, indeed—notably New Orleans, La., and Pittsburg, Pa.—the reports showed that the reform movements had met with serious reverses. In New Orleans the victory of a few years ago establishing the competitive system for municipal appointments has been virtually set at naught by concessions made to the machine; while in Pittsburg the act of the Legislature putting out of office the men elected by the people and substituting appointees of the Governor has involved a repudiation of political principles supposed to be firmly established long ago. But these reports of machine victories were the exception, and merely illustrated the commonplace that the forces for evil never relax their efforts, and that the forces working for good must show the same constancy. The report of Secretary Woodruff showed that the tendency to vote in municipal elections upon distinctively municipal issues had made great headway in all parts of the country. In the smaller towns, he reported, particularly in the West, this tendency has made even greater headway than in the cities, where it has already attracted general attention. Another evidence of gain was the increasing interest taken by commercial bodies, such

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as the Merchants' Association of New York, in public affairs which affect their members as citizens and taxpayers, even though they do not directly affect them as merchants or manufacturers. Quite as important, also, was the increased attention given to education on municipal subjects in schools and colleges. Dr. Drown, of Lehigh University, the chairman of a committee appointed a year ago to inquire into this matter, reported that over two hundred colleges gave some instruction upon municipal affairs. In many of the intermediate schools the same subject is receiving attention, and Mr. Ames, of Montreal, reported that in at least seven of our great cities the night schools of the Young Men's Christian Association are endeavoring to instruct their "coming of age" classes upon their municipal rights and duties.

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Two Striking Victories Of the reports presented from individual cities the most encouraging by all odds came from Scranton, Pa., and Montreal, Canada. The reform victory in Scranton, already mentioned in The Outlook, seems to have been chiefly due to the efforts of one public-spirited man, Mr. Sturges, who gave time, money, and enthusiasm to exposing and suppressing saloons, gambling-houses, and other disreputable places conducted in violation of law with official connivance. Finally, when convictions in the courts were being blocked through a corrupt system of selecting jurors, Mr. Sturges himself became the candidate for Commissioner of Jurors, and was elected by a simply overwhelming majority—men of all parties recognizing the public spirit which led him to accept this particularly uninviting public duty. Mr. Ames's report from Montreal was even more encouraging because here the reform work was not so dependent upon a single personality. A corrupt City Council had squandered the city resources, and heaped up a debt more burdensome than that of any other municipality in America. This debt finally aggregated $150,000,000, or $250 for every family in the city. A volunteer League was organized, which had but four members at first, but later enrolled over three hundred, and this League set to work to secure the election of better aldermen, and to put an end to the fraudulent voting by which the corruptionists had intrenched themselves. By means of personal work and finally by means of salaried employees whom the League was enabled to employ after it had demonstrated its usefulness, it compiled a card catalogue of all the voters in the city, with a brief description of each voter upon his card. These cards were distributed among the League's watchers at the various polling-places, and fraudulent voting was summarily stopped. By the efforts of the League, supplemented by the excesses of the corruptionists, the reformers have, after several years' work, secured a majority of the City Council—including a majority from the French section as well as the English section of the town. Even the differences of race and language were not able long to prevent the growth of a movement which had for its only object the common good.

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Direct Primaries and Uniform Accounts The reform measures especially urged at this Convention were direct primaries and uniform municipal accounting. The first subject was introduced by a review of the primary system from its introduction by Samuel Adams, as the means by which men of the middle and poorer classes in sympathy with popular government could secure the election of men favorable to their principles. In small rural districts the primary early developed into a "party town meeting," and its nominees were almost uniformly acceptable to the whole party. In the larger districts, however, the impossibility of assembling all the voters led to the introduction of the delegate convention system. This for a time worked well, but with the growth of these communities the delegates came to be less and less closely in touch with the whole body of voters, and finally the conventions passed under the control of little knots of politicians, known in rural communities as the "court-house ring" and in the cities as "the machine." The movement to restore popular control of party nominations first developed strength in the rural districts, where the farmers demanded the right to vote directly for candidates instead of voting for delegates to choose

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candidates. The direct vote system took root and grew almost without cultivation wherever the soil was democratic, until it had taken possession of vast numbers of counties and Congressional districts in the West and South. Its success in these rural districts and the growing opposition to machine misrule in city and State government have been the cause of its recent triumphs in South Carolina, Georgia, and Minnesota, and the strong popular demand for its establishment in other commonwealths. One of the speakers on the subject was Mr. E. A. Hempstead, the editor of the "Crawford Journal," of Meadville, Pennsylvania, who gave the history of the system in his county, where it was introduced by the Republicans in 1860, and from which it has extended over a wide territory under the name of the "Crawford County system." In the forty years of trial, the average vote in Republican primaries of Crawford County has been seventy-four per cent. of the average vote at the general election following, and the two attempts made by political leaders during the seventies to reintroduce the convention system were voted down—the first time by a majority of more than three to one, and the next time by a majority of eighteen to one. In the discussion the Minnesota plan of presenting the names of all candidates on an official ballot and holding the primary on a registration day was warmly commended. The discussion of uniform municipal accounting was especially interesting to statisticians. It was shown that not only does nearly every city tabulate its accounts in a different way, so that comparisons are impossible, but that often a single city follows no uniform system. A committee of the League co-operating with committees for the League of American Municipalities and kindred organizations has prepared a schedule for municipal statistics which will be recommended to city officials all over the country.

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The Woman's Municipal League

The Woman's Municipal League of New York City was organized in October, 1894, at the urgent solicitation of the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, who asked the women of the city to use their influence to overcome Tammany control of the city. From the time of its organization until the election of the late ex-Mayor Strong the members worked unceasingly in behalf of the reform movement. At the close of this campaign the League disbanded. It was reorganized early in the fall of 1897, affiliating with the Citizens' Union, to whose campaign fund it contributed thousands of dollars. Hundreds of dollars were expended in circulating literature to appeal to the civic pride and moral sense of the women of the city, as well as in organizing meetings for women all over the city, which were addressed by members of the League. The educational work conducted by the aid of illustrated lectures on the city departments by the Citizens' Union revealed an opportunity for work for the League. Immediately after the election the League formed a permanent organization. Since that time hundreds of lectures on the city departments, civil service reform, and the charter have been given by paid lecturers under its auspices. These lectures have been given in missions, settlements, clubs, and parlors, to women and to working boys and girls. Excursions to the city departments and to points of historic interest have been conducted by the lecturers, greatly deepening the effect of the lectures. At the annual meeting, held May 9, it was voted that the Woman's Municipal League of New York work as an ally of the Citizens' Union during the present mayoralty campaign. In 1894 the League was organized to meet what was then believed to be an emergency. Recent revelations have made it evident that the present immoral conditions in New York are a part of the organic administration of Tammany. This knowledge has greatly broadened the field of usefulness for the Woman's Municipal League, and its present organization shows an equipment to meet it.

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The Recent Divorce Decisions

The Outlook has waited before commenting on the recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the divorce cases until it could obtain official reports of the opinions. These confirm its supposition that those decisions were not altogether correctly interpreted by the reports in the daily press. There were three of these

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cases. In the first, the parties were married in New York, which was the residence of the bride, and lived in Kentucky, which was the residence of the husband. After three years, owing to cruel and abusive treatment, the wife left her husband and returned to her own State, an agreement of separation having been entered into between them. Two years later the husband secured a divorce from his wife, in Kentucky, on the ground of desertion, serving the notice of the action upon her by mail, in accordance with the laws of the State. There was no doubt that he was a bona-fide resident of Kentucky at the time of the suit. The Supreme Court holds that this decree is valid, and that other States must recognize its validity, under the clause of the Constitution that "full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State." In the second case the parties were married in New York State and continued to reside in New York State. The husband secured in the State of Pennsylvania a decree of divorce, although he was not a bona-fide resident of Pennsylvania, and ten weeks before he filed his petition in that State had described himself under oath, in a petition for the probate of a will in Erie County in the State of New York, as a resident of that county. The Court held the decree of divorce granted by the Pennsylvania court null and void, because the court had no jurisdiction to grant a divorce to one who was not a bona-fide resident of the State. In the third case the parties were married in New Jersey and lived there as husband and wife for nine years. The wife then brought suit for divorce on the ground of cruelty, and one year later the husband brought a suit against the wife in the State of North Dakota for divorce, on the ground of her cruelty and intemperance. He never, in fact, resided in North Dakota, and apparently spent but three days in the State in one month and three days in another. The Court held that the divorce obtained by him was void, because the State had no jurisdiction to grant a divorce to one not a bona-fide resident of the State. The question whether a State has a right by statute to determine what is residence for the purpose of securing a divorce was one not passed upon by the Court, since in neither of the two cases was there any such residence by the plaintiff as complied with even the provisions of the States respectively of Pennsylvania and North Dakota.

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Their Significance

Interpreting the significance of these decisions for the lay reader, it may be said that where the plaintiff in a divorce suit has a bona-fide residence in the State in which he brings proceedings for a divorce, and the divorce is granted by the court and according to the laws of that State, the decree of divorce must be recognized by the other States in the Union. But where he has no such bona-fide residence, having gone to the State only temporarily for the purpose of bringing the divorce proceedings, the decree of divorce is null and void, although granted by the State court in accordance with the laws of that State. It is null and void because the State has no jurisdiction when neither of the parties is a bona-fide resident of the State. The Court does not, however, determine what is necessary to constitute such bona-fide residence. We venture to suggest, in the light of this decision, to those who are agitating for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for uniform divorce laws, that a simpler and less objectionable amendment would be one providing that no person can obtain residence in any State for the purpose of divorce proceedings unless he has resided in the State for a defined term—say five years. This would at least put an end to what are called "railroad divorces."

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Civil Service in the Philippines

Advices from Manila give some interesting details concerning the recent civil service examinations held in that city. Nearly seven hundred English and Spanish speaking competitors applied for examination. A salient difference between the Philippine civil service and that of the United States is that the former provides for promotion from the junior grades to the highest places. The home service may well take the hint. Presumably the most novel feature to the Filipinos, however, was the allowance made for female employees. About a dozen Filipino women applied for clerk-

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ships, the places chiefly sought being those of post-office clerk, bookkeeper, stenographer, and typewriter.

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Moral Conditions in Manila The Outlook has not paid a great deal of attention to the extraordinary charges of government complicity with vice in Manila, because it had greater faith in those who have been accused than in their partisan accusers. We have, however, published something on this subject, and recur to it again because General MacArthur's indignant denial of the reports deserves to be given at least as wide a publicity as the original charges. Certain officials of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union presented complaints on this subject to the Secretary of War, which he forwarded to General MacArthur. The form of these complaints has not been given to the public, and we can therefore only infer their nature from the previously published reports and from General MacArthur's reply. In this reply he expresses the wish that the ladies would come out to Manila and study the conditions for themselves. He says:

> I am convinced that the city of Manila may to-day challenge a comparison as to its moral and orderly condition with any city of the United States. This condition is the more remarkable in view of the general lack of moral tone pervading the seaports of the East; the fact that the government of the Philippines, since the American occupation, has been necessarily one of emergency; that Manila is the headquarters of an army of 65,000 men, the city through which this army must come and go, and that these many thousands of men are in the prime of life and are remotely removed from the restraining influences that might be exercised over them by their home surroundings.

He adds a specific denial of the charge that he has licensed or encouraged houses of prostitution; fallen women, he says, have not been licensed, they are not permitted to land at Manila, and many that were there have been deported from the islands. This official denial from a man of General MacArthur's standing should suffice to put an end to the reports which have been published in certain quarters on this subject. Aside from the publication of General MacArthur's letter, an important event of last week was his liberation and transportation to their homes of a thousand Filipinos set free to signalize the issuance of Aguinaldo's allegiance proclamation.

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Australia's Tariff Policy Last week the first Australian Federal Parliament was opened by the Duke of Cornwall, acting for his father, Edward VII. The elections have given what appears to be a fair working majority to the Cabinet formed by Mr. Edmund Barton, of New South Wales, at the request of the Earl of Hopetoun, the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth. This majority is not a very large one, and there is even some doubt whether it extends to the Senate at all; but it is likely, with anything like prudent generalship, to prove sufficient for dealing with the two questions that are the most pressing in Australia itself, and also of the most general interest to other countries: these are the fiscal policy of the Commonwealth, and its attitude towards alien colored labor. There never was any reasonable doubt that the Barton Cabinet would favor a protectionist policy. The Premier himself has always been a protectionist in the politics of his own colony, and the same is true of every man whom he selected as a colleague when he formed the first Federal Cabinet. In addition to this, his Government may be said to be much more largely representative of Victoria than of his own State; and Victoria may be termed the only emphatically protectionist community of Australia. In his election manifestoes, indeed, the Australian Premier was careful to assure the electors that he proposed to levy no larger customs taxation than might be found necessary to carry out the agreement embodied in the Constitution which made it the duty of the Federal Government to reimburse each State for the revenue which it had sacrificed by federation during the next five years; but this vague pledge was manifestly of little value. It is also significant that Mr. Barton's Victorian colleagues have assured the people of their own State that the federal tariff would, as far as possible, follow the lines of the protectionist tariff hitherto in force in Victoria. If Mr. Barton can have his way, the tariff rates will average about twenty-six per cent., or, in other words, will be about one-half as high as those which now protect American manufacturers against foreign competitors.

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Australia's Labor Policy The second point in the new policy is one which, while it appeals less directly to the business interests of other nations, is perhaps even more permanently important to Australia itself. It arises from the fact that the greater part of eastern Australia has a tropical climate, and therefore presents difficulties in the way of white labor. The sugar industry, which is now an important one, is carried on almost entirely with imported colored labor, chiefly that of Indian coolies. The laborers are nearly always imported under contracts, guaranteed by the Government, entitling them to be sent home free of cost at the end of a period of years, and most, though not all of them, have hitherto claimed their privilege. It was hoped that when the Commonwealth took control of the question of alien immigration—which was specially reserved to it by the Constitution—this servile immigration would be stopped; but the protectionist views of the Barton administration seem to have caused it to support the planters' demand for cheap labor. Professing the fear that to put a stop to the introduction of coolies and other blacks would destroy valuable established industries in Queensland, they have hit upon a compromise policy under which the introduction of alien servile labor shall be limited to its present dimensions, and no larger number shall be introduced than are at present in the country. The dangers of a half-and-half policy of this kind need hardly be pointed out, as it is evident that its operation must not only keep alive a question which ought to be allowed to die out as quickly as possible, in the interests of a free Australia, but must continually offer the strongest temptations to unscrupulous evasions of the law. Years ago the people of Australia shut out Chinese immigration—though their action required them at first to defy the authority of the English law. "I care nothing about your cobweb of technical law," said Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, on this occasion. "I am obeying the law of the preservation of society in New South Wales." A similar sentiment is now being developed toward the immigration of Indian coolies, and sooner or later the importation of all servile labor is sure to be prohibited.

Russia and China The Russian Government is covering its military expenses in China by arranging for another loan from France. The amount of the loan is about ninety million dollars. Of the bonds the lowest denomination is to be five hundred francs—$96.50 in our money, or 187½ rubles in Russian money; the bonds will not be redeemable before 1960, and are free from all Russian taxes. It is expected that the loan will be a success in France, because the increase of taxation is causing French capital to seek investment abroad; thus the new issue is already being negotiated at a premium. In England the loan is regarded as of more importance to the international money market than was the last German issue, or the recent much larger issue of British consols; hence, discount rates are being raised in order to protect the British gold reserve against a foreign drain. With characteristic sagacity, Russia thus accomplishes practical results in the financial as in the political world, leaving the other Powers to do the talking and allowing the collective guarantee of the general Chinese indemnity loan still to hang fire. The international forces, however, are gradually retiring from Peking, following the worthy example of General Chaffee and his American soldiers.

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A Physicians' Strike in Germany In both Leipsic and Munich the physicians employed by the Government Bureau of Sickness Insurance have quit work in a body. The cause of the strike, according to the New York "Evening Post," is the extremely small pay allowed by the Bureau. In both cities the physicians in its employ organized, and, whether or not they called their organization a "trades-union," it was such in fact. In Munich the organization obtained an increase in fee allowed, but after the increase its members still received but fifteen cents a case. The physicians were not dissatisfied with this payment for ordinary cases, but they demanded that it should be increased whenever surgical operations were required or long attendance was necessary, as at childbirth. The Bureau refused to make the concession, and the physicians unitedly stopped work. In Leipsic the cause of the strike was in

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many respects similar, though its immediate occasion was the fact that the Bureau announced its willingness to hear complaints from the individual physicians employed by it, but refused to recognize the organization. The strike in Leipsic, therefore, was practically a strike for the recognition of the union. The physicians probably felt, as trade-unionists do, that the individuals who made complaints would be marked for dismissal, and that the representatives of their organization were alone competent to present the common grievances. The whole situation is made the more unsatisfactory because the patients complain of the physicians almost as much as the physicians complain of the Bureau. The patients are naturally assigned by the Bureau to the physician of its choice, not theirs, and the physicians, not being dependent upon the patients for employment, and being ill paid, have not made themselves particularly agreeable. What the outcome will be is uncertain, but the incident shows the difficulty of pushing a co-operative system under the direction of a national government as distinguished from a small local body. A great many local unions, lodges, and other small associations of workmen have employed physicians on the co-operative principle, rightly calculating that most doctors are paid, not only for the time they are actually at work, but for the time they are idle. If a young doctor, for example, could be employed all the time, for, say, eight hours a day, extremely moderate fees from each patient would make a comfortable salary. When small organizations or lodges have thus employed doctors, the doctor has been under the same obligation to be agreeable to the patients as if he were employed by them individually; but when the doctors, as in Germany, are employed by the national government, the Munich and Leipsic incidents are sufficient to show that the relation between doctor and patient is far from that which should exist.

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President Carter The announcement that President Carter, of Williams College, has presented his resignation, to take effect September 1, will bring sincere regret to all those who know how faithful his devotion to the College has been, and how invaluable his services. He is in many ways a typical interpreter of the spirit of Williams College. A deeply religious man, in harmony with the progressive thought of the time; an ethical teacher of unusual qualifications; a scholar in the old-fashioned sense of the word; a man of delicate instincts and fine breeding, Dr. Carter brought to his position that combination of knowledge, high standards, thoroughness of method, and quality of culture which have long been typical of the college of which he has been for two decades the very successful head. Graduating from Phillips Academy, Andover, Dr. Carter entered Yale College, but was forced to leave at the end of two years on account of ill health. After an interval of three years, spent largely in travel, he entered Williams College, and graduated in a class notable for strong men. He then studied in Germany, where he left a tradition of fine scholarship. In 1872 he accepted the chair of German Literature at Yale, and nine years later was elected to the presidency of his own college. His administration has been marked by eminent success in two widely dissimilar fields; his first and absorbing interest has always been in the endeavor to raise the standards of teaching and of work in the College to the highest level, and to keep them there. In this he has been eminently successful. The College has stood, during his administration, for intellectual thoroughness in every department. He has also been successful in building up the material fortunes of the College, having added to its effective resources something more than a million dollars; while the number of students has been doubled, and the faculty increased from ten to thirty-four. Dr. Carter has never been in robust health, and his action at this time is prompted by the desire for relief from heavy responsibilities. If the resignation is accepted, it is not likely to end a career of distinguished service, not only to Williams College, but to American education; Dr. Carter is too effective a teacher to be lost from a profession which greatly needs men of his quality and character. If it is necessary for him to give up executive and administrative work, it is much to be hoped that in some form he may be willing to continue his work as a teacher.

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Freedom of Teaching at the Chicago Theological Seminary

Chicago Theological Seminary has for the past two years been especially in the public gaze by reason of the interest taken in the case of Professor George H. Gilbert. Among the alumni and Congregationalists everywhere the interest has been particularly keen during the past fortnight, when the Directors have had the matter before them for final settlement. But now the hours of suspense are over; the final judgment has been handed down, and, to the chagrin of all, save possibly the Directors themselves, it is a compromise verdict. Dr. Gilbert's resignation was accepted, so the Board declares, not because of any theoretical or practical unfitness for the position, but "because it is for the best interest of Professor Gilbert and of the Seminary." The Board even warmly commends Dr. Gilbert's "eminent ability in the line of study which he has made his own, his reverent and devout spirit, his unaffected piety, his whole-hearted devotion to his work, his conscientious loyalty to the truth as it is given him to see the truth, and the sweet and gracious spirit which has marked all his relationships with his students, his associates in the Faculty and the Board of Control." Even a secular newspaper can appreciate the situation—which would be ludicrous were it not so portentous—and naïvely remarks: "The Board declared Professor Gilbert the possessor of all those qualities which are usually supposed to make a man eminently fitted for such work as he has been doing for fifteen years past"—and yet accepted his resignation. In this inconsistent and unenviable position have the Directors placed themselves. A short résumé of the case may help our readers to appreciate the present situation. In an article in the "Biblical World," in 1898, Professor Gilbert expressed the firm belief that that which Jesus did not plainly teach could not be regarded as an essential in Christian belief. In 1899 he presented a paper before the Chicago ministers on "The Consciousness of Jesus regarding the Meaning of his own Death, as taught in the Synoptists," in which he showed how much of our theological thought regarding the death of Christ had been drawn from Pauline rather than Synoptic sources. This purely exegetical address occasioned much adverse criticism, which found an "official" spokesman in one member of the Board of Examiners, who brought a minority report before the Board of Directors. This minority report dealt with the Professor of Old Testament Interpretation as well as with Professor Gilbert, but for some reason the case of the latter alone has been considered.

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The Pre-Existence Problem

In his book "The Revelation of Jesus," which soon appeared, Dr. Gilbert simply shows that some articles of the creeds—such as the "metaphysical union of Christ with God" and his "pre-existence," are not so plainly taught as to warrant their being considered essential matters of belief. Then arose the full tide of controversy, which found a powerful advocate in a Western denominational paper. At the Directors' last meeting Professor Gilbert was given a year's leave of absence in which to carry throughout the New Testament his theory of interpretation, and it was further ordered that, "unless the accord hoped for should appear, Dr. Gilbert should resign from the Faculty." During the past year he has been pursuing his studies at Dorset, Vermont, and early in April the Directors received the proof-sheets of his new work on "The First Interpreters of Jesus." The Board met May 7, and behind closed doors discussed the book and its teachings, and on the 8th, when it was apparent that the majority of the Board was for dismissal on the grounds of heresy, Professor Graham Taylor presented the letter of resignation which Dr. Gilbert had prepared for such a contingency. This letter was handed to a committee, which, in the interests of peace and unanimity, and with the warm praises already quoted, recommended that the resignation be accepted. Thus was terminated Professor Gilbert's membership in the Faculty of Chicago Seminary. After fifteen years of faithful, reverent, scholarly teaching, Professor Gilbert has been forced to step aside, because, though he himself accepts the creed of the Seminary, he does not find that the teachings of Jesus alone or by themselves emphasize as essential Christ's real pre-existence

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or his metaphysical union with the Father. Here is left vacant a position which can be filled only by one who will not only believe the creed but will find it fully wrought out and emphasized in the teaching of Jesus. Who will care to occupy it? We are told that the Board was confronted with a practical problem as well as a question of belief—in that it would have been unpleasant to have a Professor of Exegesis teaching that Jesus did not plainly insist on any metaphysical union with God while the Professor of Systematic Theology was insisting that Jesus did hold that relation. If this "practical problem" of seminary administration had any influence with the Board, it is in itself evidence that the Seminary is in no wise a University of Theology. The Directors may thus have harmonized the teaching of the two departments, but to our mind they "cut and fitted" the wrong one, for our theologies must finally rest on a candid and scholarly exegesis of the Revelation of Jesus. More than Jesus taught may be true, but more *cannot* be essential.

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Women as Church Legislators The Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church are voting this year on the proposed new Constitution, which authorizes the election of women as delegates to the General Conference and thus abolishes all sex distinction in the ecclesiastical politics of the denomination. Up to 1872 ministers only were members of the General Conference. That year marked the admission of laymen—not more than two from an Annual Conference. After a few years it became evident that the laymen would demand equal representation with the ministers, and at the General Conference in Chicago last year the demand was conceded. These changes simply made more insistent the demand for the same ecclesiastical privileges for women as men. In 1888 five women presented themselves at the session of the General Conference in New York as duly accredited lay delegates, but the Conference decided by a vote of 237 to 198 that they were not eligible. Then an amendment to the Constitution was referred to the Annual Conferences, declaring that lay delegates may be men or women. The laity as well as the ministry voted on the question, the vote of the former being 235,000 for and 163,000 against, while the vote of the ministers was 5,600 for and 5,100 against. As a majority of three-fourths was necessary, the amendment was lost. In the face of this defeat, three women appeared with proper credentials as delegates before the General Conference of 1896. They were challenged and withdrew. During the subsequent quadrennium, however, the question of the eligibility of women was again submitted to the Annual Conferences, but the vote, which was this time over two to one in favor of the change, still fell short of the necessary majority. At the last General Conference the temper of the body on the question of woman's eligibility was evident by the heavy vote recorded in favor of the amendment making the admission of women possible. As far as the returns from the Annual Conferences have been received, the indications are that the vote will be overwhelmingly in favor of adopting the new Constitution. Most of the Conferences that have voted so far are in the East, where opposition to the admission of women has been deep-seated, but even here the vote shows a surprising change of sentiment. The autumn Conferences, which are nearly all in the West, will roll up great majorities in favor of the Constitution; and even among the Germans, who have stood like a bulwark against the admission of women into the governing body of the Methodist Episcopal Church, there are unmistakable evidences of a change. The signs of the times, therefore, point to the early termination of a hard-fought battle, upon which many persons outside of the denomination have been looking with interest, and to a situation unique in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church—a General Conference in which men and women shall sit together, deliberate, transact business, and enact legislation for the benefit of their common Church.

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The Waldensian Church The Outlook has frequently called attention to the needs and opportunities of the Waldensian Church in Italy. These have been specially brought to the consideration of Americans by the recent addresses

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and appeals of Signora Angelini, the temporary representative in this country of that Church. Through her efforts the Waldensian Society of the city of New York has now been formed. The Rev. Dr. Greer is President, and Miss Butler, 78 Park Avenue, Treasurer. The Waldensian Church is doing a noble evangelistic work, but unfortunately its funds are insufficient to meet the calls which increasingly come for pastors and teachers. The salary of a teacher varies from ten to twenty dollars a month. The salary of a colporteur or evangelist is from twenty to thirty dollars a month. The salary of a pastor varies from five hundred to eight hundred dollars a year. Whole villages are turning from Roman Catholicism to the greater simplicity of Protestantism, as, for instance, Cerchiera, near Rome, Santa Lucia and other villages in Calabria and the Basilicata. Owing to the Boer war, contributions from Great Britain have sadly declined; hence the Waldensians of Italy turn more than before to the United States for help to meet every new call. Charles Albert of Sardinia once secured to them political and religious emancipation; we can at least give them financial emancipation. This is the day of opportunity for Italy and this the time to help Protestants in that land. Some of the honored heads of Italian Protestantism are passing away. A specially severe loss has been that of Dr. Meille, President of the Waldensian College, a notable preacher, and the translator of Schaff's "Bible Dictionary" into Italian.

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Wall Street Last Week

Reader, did you ever see two women bidding against each other in a country auction? Each has set her heart on a particular piece of furniture; one starts it, the second adds a dollar; the neighbors at first join in, presently they are left behind; the pride of the women is enlisted, each regards the other as a personal enemy, they glare at each other, each is determined to show the village that her husband is as rich as her rival's; bid succeeds bid in rapid succession, until at last a dilapidated sofa which the day before could have been bought for five dollars at private sale, or perhaps could not have been sold at all, is knocked down to the triumphant victim at a hundred dollars. Something like this was what took place in Wall Street last week. Two rival syndicates wanted to control the Northern Pacific Railroad. They began to bid for the stock of what was not long ago a bankrupt concern; their pride reinforced their self-interest, and their mutual hostility their pride.

If this had been all, it would have constituted an interesting episode, but one having no connection with the intrinsic value of Northern Pacific securities and having no more effect on the community's well-being than the bidding of the women against each other in a country auction. But this is not all; it never is all in such a duello between financiers. As the stock began to go up, speculators began to sell, and other speculators began to offer to buy stock which they never expected to possess, in the belief that the seller could not get the stock he had agreed to deliver and would have to pay for his failure. For only a certain proportion of all the men who sold Northern Pacific stock for future delivery could borrow it and thus deliver the certificates. The rest had to buy for cash the needed stock for immediate delivery, and of course had to pay much more than the regular price. They had to sacrifice some or all of their other securities in order to raise funds to buy the needed Northern Pacific. Thus, in many cases, the choicest investment securities were perforce hurriedly thrown on the market at absurdly low prices. Many speculators did not even have these resources; they had bought a stock for which they could not pay at all and were caught in a market in which no one would lend them anything. As the rival bidders who really wanted to control the railroad kept the stock they bought, stock that was purchasable grew less and less. Innocent holders, finding a rapidly stiffening money market and a rapidly declining stock market, grew frightened and offered their solid securities for sale. On Wednesday of last week the Northern Pacific common stock had been bid up to $180—a queer price for the stock of a concern acquired five years ago at a foreclosure sale, paying two per cent. two years ago, and four per cent. last year. On Thursday, however, the common stock shot up to $1,000 a share, and the stock of other railroads

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fell twenty, thirty, forty, and in one case, sixty points.

Whatever panic had been unwittingly produced is now seen to have been purely speculative; it was not at all a money or a business panic. Still more disastrous results than those of Thursday, however, were averted, first, by the rather tardy agreement of the rivals for Northern Pacific control to postpone for twenty-four hours the delivery of certificates due to them, and, failing this, to accept one hundred and fifty dollars as a settlement price —in other words, a figure at which those who had sold stock impossible to be delivered might make a settlement. While a contest for railway control is legitimate enough, it is also reasonable to believe that the rivals for control would prefer to have stock from those who had sold it to them instead of cash penalties. Secondly, the situation was made easier by the action of certain banks in raising a fund of about twenty million dollars to be loaned at market rates. Thirdly, the startling declines themselves, quickly attracting an army of bargain-hunters to Wall Street and a consequent enormous buying, caused an upward movement as sudden and remarkable as the downward plunge had been.

As in many quarters the accounts of customers are being tided over the crisis by their brokers, the possibility of Stock Exchange failures is not wholly removed, but, so far as last week was concerned, not one of the eleven hundred Exchange members became bankrupt. During the past half-year their position had been one of growing strength, as they had cast many an anchor to the windward. In some degree they reflected the sounder commercial and economic conditions of the country at large. These conditions were impressively evident when prices were at their lowest ebb last week. At that moment the subscription-books for a great railway and lighting loan were closed, the whole amount having been much oversnbscribed, notwithstanding the Wall Street depression. Even when the outlook seemed blackest, therefore, such an incident conclusively showed that then, as always, there was a genuine demand for securities promising a safe return.

Having no relation to our general material prosperity, the flurry touched the underlying strength of the country not a whit. Fundamental conditions have never been so satisfactory as at present. Last week's Government crop report, for instance, confirms its previous forecast of one of the largest yields of winter wheat on record. This report does not conflict, as has sometimes been the case, with those of the State Agricultural Bureaus. Spring wheat is also being planted under favorable conditions. Despite these prospects, the price of wheat is high, as foreign purchasers promptly absorb our offerings. The price of corn is nearly one-quarter more than the quotation at this time in the two preceding years, notwithstanding the large acreage. Cotton and sugar plantations also promise well, and their acreage has been much increased. Responding to an unparalleled condition, the production of pig iron, for the first time in our history, is reaching three hundred thousand tons per week, and in the higher forms of iron, and also in steel, our position is unprecedentedly strong. Railway earnings for April show a gain of more than nine per cent. over the corresponding month of last year, and about twenty-three per cent. over April, 1899. Exports are leaving our shores in unequaled volume. Commercial failures are at a normal minimum.

Hence it is absurd for millions of Americans to allow themselves to become excited about a "corner" in Wall Street. The result of that corner may be grievous for the professional tricksters and gamblers, who, we are glad to say, represented nearly all the losers. For the honest Wall Street, however, and for America at large, we believe the flurry to have been a good thing. First, to some slight extent at least, it must check the widespread speculative fever which, had prices continued to rise, would ultimately have drawn mortifyingly on the country's credit; we hope that prices will now fluctuate within more normal limits. Secondly, it has demonstrated American strength—agricultural, industrial, mercantile, financial—to be so great that a panic which once would have bankrupted large business houses has now no further effect than to bankrupt a few reckless outsiders. They, and all men, might well lay to heart the adage of old Commodore Vanderbilt: "Never buy anything you can't pay for; never sell anything you don't own."

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German Expansion

Years ago Bismarck discovered that Germany was not large enough for the Germans. Some of them must emigrate. Nineteen out of every twenty emigrants would not go across the frontier to France, Switzerland, Austria, Russia; instead, they came to the United States. Bismarck became alarmed both at the swollen emigration stream and at its tendency. He would direct it into a new channel, where it could be somewhat controlled—above all, where it could be made useful to the Fatherland. Thus arose the desire for German transmarine possessions. At that time Africa was not occupied as now, when, save Morocco, Liberia, and Abyssinia, that continent is parceled out among European Powers. Accordingly, the Iron Chancellor founded three colonies in Africa; but conditions were such that they could never compare favorably with those of other nations. In crowded Asia there seemed then small chance. Only South America remained, but it offered tempting opportunities for colonization. It was and is sparsely populated; Brazil, for instance, has a population of fifteen millions, yet the country could support fifty millions. Its land is of the richest; its climate of the healthiest; its government has not been of the best. Here were four attractive features to colonization and conquest. Bismarck quickly began a campaign to absorb Brazil, first commercially, and, as an ultimate issue, politically. On his initiative the German Reichstag finally passed a bill the purpose of which, by offering inducements to settle elsewhere, was, first, to discourage emigration to North America, and, second, to found a colony in South America. The proposer of the bill pointed out especially to farmers and agriculturists the better outlook for them in the South. That conditions were really favorable is seen from the fact that the revival of agriculture and the erection of flour-mills by Germans will shortly furnish nearly all the meat products, cereals, and flour consumed in Brazil. The proposer of the bill frankly added: "North America is not fitted for a rational German emigration, for there the peculiarities, language, and customs of the Germans—in other words, Germanism—are lost by way of assimilation. There the relations of the emigrant with the mother country are dissolved; there he even promotes competition with the agriculture and industry of his own native country. It is not so in South America, particularly in South Brazil; there German nationality is preserved; there conditions for a prosperous existence of German settlers from climatic, agricultural, and other points of view are better; there the emigrant becomes a consumer of German products of industry, and in this way becomes an intermediary of commercial and political relations between his new home and his mother country." This and more of the same sort constantly appears in the "Südamerikanische Rundschau," a Berlin paper exclusively devoted to the furtherance of German interests in South America. Great colonization societies were also created, such as the "Hanseatic Colonization Company" and the "Hamburg Society for the Colonization of South Brazil," the latter of which has in the State of Santa Catharina alone nearly two million acres, is about constructing an important railway sanctioned by the Brazilian Government, and has so changed the character of the population as already to have made the German proportion one-third of the total. The States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul make up South Brazil—a region in which, according to various estimates, there are from two hundred and fifty thousand to four hundred thousand German colonists. For the most part they live in settlements of their own, governed by German officials; they have naturally maintained their home customs in a new land, have dealt almost exclusively with Germany, and have used their own tongue as much as possible in their share of the conduct of the nearly autonomous State Governments.

Along with colonization came the establishment of steamship lines, the subject of a report last week from Vice-Consul-General Murphy, who says that the rapid extension of Germany's direct lines of steam connection with South Brazil should arouse rivalry in us if we intend to maintain even our present position in this rich market. He does well to point out that, in these days of keen international competition, neither geographical advantages nor commercial sympathy suffice in them-

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selves to win and hold markets. The hundred vessels plying between Germany and Brazil occupy such a strong position with their ten to fifteen per cent. dividends that our present merchant fleet is entirely unable to compete with them.

The capital expended by Germans in Brazil has been first in banking, of which they now seem to have as much of a monopoly as in steamships; plantations and real estate are next in order. With two practical monopolies comes a consequent control of the Brazilian import market. The United States buys more of Brazil's staples, coffee and rubber, than all Europe combined, but our merchants have allowed the United States to sink to the sixth place on the list of nations represented in Brazilian imports.

Commercial dominance achieved, the secret ambition of Bismarck, and after him of William II., has now burst its former bounds. A significant editorial in the "Deutsche Post" says: "We observe that a love for the individual States is growing at the expense of Brazil's unity. We should not wonder if, especially in consequence of the maladministration at Rio Janeiro, the Federal capital, the States of Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul at least should some day declare for secession and independence. Then a new outlook would be opened to Germany."

So long as it remains purely commercial, the great growth of the German colony in Brazil is no menace to our political ideals. But suppose the colonists suddenly consider themselves misgoverned by Brazil, as the "Deutsche Post" apparently advises them to do. They would appeal to Berlin for redress by arms and for future protection. Perhaps that protection could be secured only by placing the colonists and their territory under the German flag.

Would there be anything to prevent? Ought there to be anything to prevent? Would the United States have any right to object? Would a German colony in South America imperil the interests of the United States? Would a German protectorate over such a colony, if desired by the people in the South American State over which it was exercised, violate popular rights which we ought in honor to protect? We do not here discuss these questions—we only propound them. The Monroe Doctrine, formulated three-quarters of a century ago, does not of itself bind us to a course of action which, however wise then, may not be wise now. The question which we here ask may not have to be answered. But it may have to be answered very suddenly. It is wise, therefore, to consider it beforehand. Forewarned is forearmed.

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Liberty of Theological Teaching

The facts stated in another column respecting the retirement of Professor Gilbert from the Chicago Theological Seminary raise again the perplexing question respecting the limits of liberty in teaching in institutions of learning. What are the rights of teachers in such institutions? What are the duties of Boards of Trustees? The question is not easy of answer.

That there are limits to the rights of the teacher no one will, probably, question. He has no right to teach as truth doctrines which are repugnant to the common moral sense of the community in which he lives—the doctrine of Brigham Young, for example, that it is right to have several wives at once, or of Proudhon, that "property is robbery." He has no right to remain in his chair if he is teaching for truth that which is repugnant to the common sense of all recognized authorities in his department. If Jasper, instead of being a preacher in Richmond, had been a teacher in the high school, he could not have demanded the right to remain and teach the boys and girls that "the sun do move."

So, again, a teacher cannot claim the right to use his chair as a place for the propaganda of partisan, sectarian, or peculiar views. The mere fact that a Professor of English Literature had adopted the Baconian theory of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays would of itself be no reason for his dismissal; but if that theory led him to abandon the commonly received canons of literary criticism, or if he converted his lectures into a series of attempted demonstrations of the Baconian theory, if, in other words, he ceased to teach Shakespeare and became the propagandist of a

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dogma, that would be a sufficient reason for demanding his resignation; and if he did this for sectarian or party reasons, the ground for demanding his resignation would be increased.

On the other hand, if a Board of Trustees were to demand the resignation of a teacher, not because his views were erroneous or unscholarly, but because they were unpopular and interfered with raising money for the institution; or if a single Trustee or the President acting alone demanded the resignation of a professor because his economic views did not tally with those of the Trustee or the President, or because out of his class-room he advocated the claims of a political party other than that to which the Trustee or the President belonged, or if a mass-meeting, of which one-half could not even read the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, and of which three-quarters were almost wholly ignorant of the views of modern scholars in the department of Biblical Criticism, were to demand the expulsion from his chair of Biblical Theology of a man eminent for his scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic, because his teaching did not agree with what the mass-meeting thought was the current view of scholars two hundred and fifty years ago, the public would universally condemn the procedure, and the institutions in which such interference with the liberty of teaching was attempted would be brought into deserved disrepute.

Is there any principle which can be stated which will help to define the respective rights and duties of teachers and Boards of Trustees, and which will help to solve the perplexing questions which sometimes arise in the administration of institutions of learning? We think there is. It may be stated thus: The teacher has a right to adopt and teach any view which has secured, or which upon its presentation does receive, recognition among the authorities in his department, and it is the duty of the Board of Trustees to recognize and safeguard that right, whether they think the view is true or false; but he has no right to adopt and teach a view which has no recognized standing among the scholars in his department, however sincere and earnest he may be in his adoption of it. Original research and popular instruction are not the same; and the original investigator ought not to use his instructor's chair to exploit his theories before young and inexperienced pupils, if they are subversive of the commonly accepted opinions among experts, until they have been examined and tried and have won a recognition among experts. He ought not to try them on upon his class. Bimetallism and monometallism are both views of recognized standing among financial experts; no teacher, therefore, should be dismissed for adopting either view. So the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the Documentary Hypothesis both have standing among Biblical scholars; no teacher, therefore, should be dismissed for holding and teaching either view. A Board of Trustees, generally composed largely of laymen, is not competent to decide *ex cathedra* which of two views, both entertained by experts, is true; but it is competent to decide concerning any view whether it has a standing in the scholarly world or not.

The question, however, may be asked, Suppose the institution has been founded for the purpose of teaching a particular tenet, and the instructor teaches what is subversive of that tenet, is he to be retained? The answer is very simple: A concern organized to teach a particular tenet is not an institution of learning, it is a propaganda. A propaganda, says the Century Dictionary, is "any kind of institution or organization for propagating a new doctrine or system of doctrines, or for proselyting." A concern organized to teach, not astronomy, but the Copernican or Ptolemaic theory of astronomy, not economics, but monometallism or bimetallism, not political economy, but McKinleyism or Bryanism, not Christian theology, but the Presbyterian or Episcopal or Congregational theories in theology, is a propaganda; and we are not concerned to inquire what are the duties of a Board of Trustees of a propaganda, but what are the duties of Boards of Trustees of institutions of learning. And we repeat that it is not their duty to sit as a court to determine what is true, but only to determine what has won for itself a recognized place as a tenable hypothesis in the department of learning to which the questioned teaching belongs.

Applying these principles to the case of Dr. Gilbert, what do they indicate as to

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the action of the Board of Trustees in his case? It is not suggested that he has been guilty of teaching anything immoral or irreligious—except as erroneous theology is to be regarded as irreligious; nor that he has been using his chair as a means of propagating a sectarian or an idiosyncratic dogma. And we shall assume that the theological seminary in which he has been teaching is not a propaganda, but an institution intended for the diffusion of sound theological learning.

The question concerning Dr. Gilbert's teaching relates to his views on the person and work of Jesus Christ. In a previous volume he considered the teaching of Jesus respecting himself; in his latest, "The First Interpreters of Jesus," he considers the teaching of those first interpreters of Jesus concerning him. He declares that Paul regards Jesus as a true man having a human origin; that he never calls Jesus God, but describes him as a mediator between God and man; that he recognizes in him a divine character, the divinity consisting in his holiness, his sinlessness, his love, his spiritual wisdom, his authority. In this divine man Paul sees the Messiah who is Lord and Master, to whom we owe obedience, he who has come to save sinners by reconciling them to God. This is the practical aspect of Paul's teaching. The passages in his Epistles which are speculative in character are difficult of interpretation, but they do not necessarily involve Christ's conscious personal pre-existence; the pre-existence apparently implied in some passages is or may be ideal rather than personal. They are paralleled by the statements in the Book of Proverbs respecting "Wisdom," as One who was with Jehovah in the creation of the world. They imply that the Messianic ideal or purpose of God was from the beginning. The universality of sin, the universal need of a Messiah, his earthly work in teaching God's Fatherhood, in demonstrating the righteousness of God by his death, resurrection, and ascension, are all emphasized by Dr. Gilbert. But the death of Jesus is not thought of by Paul as a punishment for sin, for the sins of men are transferred to Jesus not actually but ideally. The object and the effect of Christ's life and death are to furnish a new standard and equip humanity with a new motive power. In that life and death, therefore, is the secret of a new and divine, that is, Christ-like, life for humanity.

Applying the principles above stated to this teaching, it appears to us clear that it affords no reason why Dr. Gilbert should be asked to resign his chair. That which is vital and practical in Christian theology he holds in common with the universal Christian Church—the divinity of Jesus Christ, his Messiahship, his Lordship, and that the world's salvation is afforded through him. To deny these fundamental tenets is to deny historical Christianity as it has been accepted by all branches of the Christian Church from the Apostolic ages; but, on the other hand, the metaphysical relations of Jesus Christ to the Eternal, and the operation of his life and death to save men, are questions which have been debated in all ages, and which have received different answers from within the Christian Church. Dr. Gilbert's answer to these questions does not differ more widely from that of his predecessors than their answers differ from one another. A part of his teaching is refined, subtle, and speculative, but it is that part which deals with those phases of Paul's teaching which are also refined, subtle, and speculative. How far it is desirable to make any attempt to solve these speculative problems may be questioned. Whether the advantage derived from giving what is supposed to be a clear and comprehensive system of theology to ministers is not more than counterbalanced by the disadvantage of turning the minds of young men away from the practical and vital aspects of truth to those which are abstract and speculative may also be questioned. But Dr. Gilbert's teaching is not less practical and vital than that of most teachers of theology; it is rather more so. It is on the practical and vital side that he lays emphasis; and his removal, we fear, will be regarded as a notice to the public, and especially to young men desiring to enter the ministry, that in the Chicago Theological Seminary there is not to be allowed the same liberty of thought and of instruction which has been generally allowed within the boundaries of the evangelical churches, and which is to-day allowed to the ministry within the boundaries of the Congregational churches. We express here no opinions concerning the adequacy

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of Dr. Gilbert's interpretation of the speculative passages in Paul's writings, but we are sure that at the present time the Church is far more imperiled from a public impression that the ministry has not that freedom of investigation and utterance which the age grants to all other scholars than it is from any fancied departure from those vital facts of Christianity which are essential to the promotion of a broad and deep spiritual life.

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Effective Criticism

In a country governed by public opinion, the form which the expression of that opinion takes is of the highest importance. It may be wasteful, or it may take an effective form; it may be distributed over so wide an area that it does not count, or it may be focused so definitely that it is irresistible. A critical attitude on the part of the country towards the Government is at all times essential to public health; for the Government is a trust to be administered for the benefit of the people; the officers of State are public servants to be held to a rigid responsibility. Their actions ought to be watched with the closest scrutiny, and both actions and policy fearlessly criticised whenever occasion demands. A political party is never in such a wholesome and thoroughly safe condition as when there is a free movement of criticism within its own lines, which holds its own leaders to strict account, and does not leave to the opposition exclusively the function of criticism.

But there is a vast difference between intelligent criticism and habitual fault-finding; and it has been the misfortune of this country for the past few years that many men who should carry influence have fallen into the attitude of fault-finders and have become public scolds. A vigorous, fearless opposition to Government policy is always to be respected, even when one does not agree with it; but the opposition of pin-pricks, of carping, belittling, scolding quality, excites ridicule and defeats its own ends. Of late years a number of excellent movements, and among them Civil Service Reform, have suffered seriously from the lack of wisdom, moderation, good sense, and right feeling on the part of some of their supporters. These men have become habitual scolds; nothing pleases them; they never wait for explanations of any act on the part of any public official; they invariably assume that his motives are wrong; they decide a disputed question without waiting to get the evidence in; and they do everything possible to irritate, antagonize, and embitter those whom they ought to influence. Some of the opposition to Mr. McKinley has been of this sort; it has been personal, carping, petty, and belittling to the men who have carried it on. It has not risen to the dignity of political criticism; it has been unbalanced, small-minded, and it has largely defeated itself by its lack of breadth, grasp, force, and manliness. Of this sort of fault-finding the country has altogether too much for its own good, and for its patience. It is weary of the opposition of the fault-finder; the attitude of professional antagonism; the spirit of the man who carps at every policy which he does not initiate.

On the other hand, it sorely needs manly, vigorous, discriminating criticism; the spirit which refuses to be imposed upon, to tolerate neglect of public duty, violation of public good manners, or lack of public courtesy. Bishop Potter, who says so well so many apt things on current events, recently said: "The infirmity of the American mind is that it is so constantly disposed to put up with wrong or faulty things." As a result of the easy good nature of the Americans, no people are so imposed upon in so many small and sometimes in so many large ways. All kinds of discourtesy are patiently borne; outrages upon private rights are endured in silence, either because people are too good-natured to complain, or because they are too busy. Complaint in these cases is public duty; no man has a right to neglect it. Every violation of any kind of law, every discourtesy from a public official, every rudeness on the part of a conductor on a cable-car or public conveyance of any kind, any lack of attention on the part of employees of railroads, any lack of respect in hotels and restaurants, ought to be instantly reported by every one who suffers such indignities or sees others suffer them. They are of constant occurrence. In every community and among every people the constant and respectful attention to public needs, regular and courteous performance of public

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duties, can be secured only by the steady pressure of public opinion.

Americans owe it to themselves to postpone patience to the public good, and to exact from those who deal with them in any public capacity courtesy, attention, and respect. They owe it to themselves to allow no infringement of private or public rights without instant and vigorous protest. It ought to be impossible for a trolley company to seize a public highway, as has sometimes happened, in defiance of law, without such an outbreak of public indignation as would overwhelm the lawbreakers. Public opinion can do anything; it only needs to be organized and made efficient by intelligence, discrimination, and concentration.

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The Spectator

It was the Spectator's good fortune to see, in the early days of May, under most agreeable auspices, something of the Pan-American Exposition, and to get a foretaste of what the public will enjoy in full fruition when the present turmoil of preparation gives place to the splendid beauty of the completed picture. It must be admitted that Buffalo is not yet ready to welcome the millions who are planning to see her great show, and the Spectator's advice, based on very limited knowledge, is, first, that all his friends should delay their visit until after the end of May, and, second, that not one who can by reasonable effort achieve it should by any means fail to see the Exposition before the summer is over. No more beautiful grouping of buildings, towers, arches, and sculpture has ever been made—not even at Chicago, which marked the culmination of effort and achievement in world's fairs up to that time. And the magnificence of the illumination when what has been planned reaches its fulfillment will surpass all previous possibilities.

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The city of Buffalo has been growing so fast for the past dozen years that in a group of half a dozen men, all of them exceptionally well informed, the Spectator found not one who came within fifty thousand of its actual population, which approaches very near the four hundred thousand mark. Within a radius of five hundred miles of the City Hall of Buffalo are contained one-half the population of the whole United States and three-quarters of the people of Canada, so that its claim to be a metropolitan city and its anticipation of a crowd of visitors only exceeded at Chicago and Paris seem to be entirely reasonable. There is an air of dignity and repose in the residential section of the city which cannot fail to impress the beholder, and the three-mile stretch of its far-famed Delaware Avenue, lined with stately homes in richly shaded grounds, constitutes a street that has few counterparts in America.

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It was a shrewd and a statesmanlike thing—if the two words may be used together—to base this fair on the mutual interest of the countries of North and South America, and thus to invite that better acquaintance which will certainly foreshadow an enormous advance in commercial interrelation, if it does not, indeed, make still larger prophecy of an ultimate political union on some hitherto unthought-of plan. The invitations to the Central and South American countries have been accepted with such cordial unanimity that out of a possible twenty-four there are not less than nineteen countries which have either buildings or exhibits at Buffalo, and the present indications point to a large attendance of our Spanish-speaking neighbors from the South. The architects have happily adapted their plans to this conception, and the richly decorated buildings, glowing with color, remind every observer that the Latin countries have much to teach us, if also much to learn from us.

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Every great fair stands supreme in some special features. At Buffalo we have the first formal and unified arrangement of all the buildings, and the first large use of color in accordance with a harmonious color scheme. But the single feature which will win the most lavish admiration and live longest in the memory is the hitherto unequaled use of electricity for illumination. Two hundred thousand incandescent bulbs are already in place, and Niagara Falls supplies five thousand horse-power for lighting alone. The great Electric Tower, three hundred feet high,

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is at night one blaze of glory, and a score of searchlights, equal in power to those of the largest battle-ships, are to illuminate nightly the splendid Court of Fountains. After a complimentary dinner given at the Hotel Iroquois by the Exposition Company, to the party of which the Spectator was a member, it was permitted to the guests to go late to the grounds where the illumination remained and the visitors had departed. For half a mile our street-car ran along in full view of the buildings, each blazing with light and all dominated by the great glowing Tower. After the circuit of the grounds had been made, we stood before the Court of Fountains while the genius in charge of the electricity gently pushed a lever, and every one of the two hundred thousand lights simultaneously, but very gradually, turned into dull gold, and then faded away, leaving tower and arch, stadium and fountain, cold and white in the pale light of the full moon. As we waited, awed to silence, the myriad golden buttons reappeared, growing brighter and brighter until the former marvel was restored, and Niagara, ten miles away, was sending far and wide her message of light. If the Spectator could reproduce this scene, in all its wonder, for those who read The Outlook, he would count himself most fortunate.

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At the dinner which preceded this midnight visit the Spectator was happy in being seated beside the man to whom the practical working out of the great fair is intrusted, the Hon. W. S. Buchanan, the director-general. The story of what has been done in building the Rainbow City is a romance of industry, and to hear some chapters of it from the man on the bridge was a pleasure and an inspiration not soon to be forgotten. Two speeches only were made at this dinner, and those of less than ten minutes each—which, by the way, may afford a suggestion to other dinner-givers. One was by the Hon. John G. Milburn, the President of the Exposition, whose magnetic personality, tireless energy, and broad-minded statesmanship have been influential at every stage of the enterprise. The other was by Mr. George H. Daniels, the general passenger agent of the New York Central Railway, who was the host of the literary and journalistic group which had made the trip to Buffalo to see the fair. Both speeches were models of genial welcome, terse description, and inspiring prophecy of success for the great undertaking.

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The visitor to the Exposition will find himself impressed primarily by the orderly and symmetrical arrangement of buildings, colonnades, and towers, all rich in decoration and glowing with color. The prevailing architectural note is Moorish, though there is also much to call to mind the work of the great men of Greece. The second feature which wins and holds the attention is the abundant use of original and allegorical sculpture. The director of sculpture, Mr. Karl Bitter, has presided over this department with far-seeing genius and tireless energy. He has had the enthusiastic co-operation of thirty-five of the best sculptors in America, each of whom has brought to the task his own individuality and his best skill, and has been aided in the work of construction by a great number of younger sculptors and skilled workmen. There are hundreds of groups and figures, many of them from original designs, and many others reproduced from the best examples of ancient and modern sculpture. Such a collection would have been an impossibility before the invention of staff, the availibility of which has been greatly increased of late by the possibility of treating it effectively in color.

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The great Triumphal Bridge, symbolizing the welcome of the United States to her sister nations, and already made familiar to the people of the country by the fine painting of Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith, which occupied the place of honor at the recent architectural exhibition in New York, will be, when complete, one of the most impressive features of the fair. It is designed to embody the idea of the National pride, power, and progress of America. Mr. John M. Carrère, Chairman of the Board of Architects, designed the four piers, a hundred feet in height; and the Mounted Standard-Bearer surmounting each, designed by Mr. Bitter, is one of the finest pieces of individual work on the grounds.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF PEKING[1]

By Arthur H. Smith

Special Commissioner for The Outlook in China

IT is still much less than a year since the culmination of a long and carefully laid plot on the part of the Chinese Government to drive all the foreigners in the Empire into the sea, leaving "China for the Chinese." It was not many months later that the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, with a small company of attendants, left Peking early on a morning in August for a toilsome march full of privations unexampled in the history of the dynasty, toward the distant capital of Shensi, where the Imperial Court still remains. It is an interesting and also an instructive study to glance at the changes which have been incidentally introduced in and about the capital of the Chinese Empire by the events of the past ten months. At that time the Imperial Palaces were occupied as usual by the Court, the "Winter Palace" within the Forbidden City being an occasional residence, and the Western Palace across the Marble Bridge the ordinary one both for the Emperor and the Empress Dowager, and it was here that the Emperor was kept in a gilded restraint occasionally referred to as confinement in a "dungeon." In the beautiful Iho Park within the inclosure known as the "Summer Palace," or Wanshoushan, several miles northwest of Peking, the Empress spent much of her time, and it was here that she was often visited by her favorites in the official ranks who brought word of everything said and done everywhere. These spacious and beautiful grounds, known as the Mountain of Ten Thousand Ages, were in 1860 visited by the besom of destruction as a penalty for the treachery of the Imperial Court in capturing and torturing Sir Harry Parkes and others while protected by a flag of truce. Within recent years the buildings, which, with the exception of one striking temple to Five Hundred Buddhas situated on the crest of a commanding hill, were totally destroyed with gunpowder, have been restored to something of their pristine beauty, and restocked with those elegant adornments inseparable from Oriental luxury.

It is a strange fate which has overtaken this pleasure park, that, at the expiration of just forty years from the former destruction, it should once more fall into the hands of the Barbarians, and, while not this time reduced to absolute ruins, should yet be unmercifully looted. On a certain day in the autumn the word was passed about, "The Russians have occupied the Summer Palace." Visitors at the place brought the most definite tales of spoliation; this has never altogether ceased until within a short time; its cessation is partly owing to the fact that the rules for visitation are now more stringent and partly because there is next to nothing to take. Even the huge Buddhas have been toppled over with violence to get at their true inwardness, and the looters have often been rewarded by securing old Chinese treasury notes dating back to the middle of the fourteenth century. It is positively asserted that during the larger part of the military occupation of this series of palaces the foreign troops have been in the habit of breaking up the heavy and expensive Chinese furniture for firewood, while great quantities of material have been altogether removed for the use and behoof of the officers in charge. The Winter Palace, within the innermost recesses of what the troops have dubbed "The Sacred City," has been visited during the winter by many thousand persons, military and civil, and while all of its buildings may not have been entered, the greater part of them are now as familiar to us as the palaces at Versailles, and have been photographed times without number. It has been well known that from the very first opening of these apartments to the select circle the curios and bric-à-brac began to disappear, until, ere many weeks had passed, nothing portable was left in sight, and but little of

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any kind that would be worth carrying away. It is supposed that much still remains within the storehouses and treasuries with which the residences of princes and the Imperial family are amply provided; but, to the exclusive and haughty Manchus who have so long ruled China, it must be difficult to think of their abodes as other than hopelessly defiled by the contamination of the Barbarian for so many moons.

The usual residence of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, when in the city, has been occupied as the headquarters of Count von Waldersee, and the outer view of the Imperial apartments is punctuated by unsightly stovepipes protruding at every point, which have, indeed, become the signature of Western civilization in Peking. The carriages belonging to the toy railway built for the delectation of his Majesty stand out exposed to the weather, and have not only lost, during the rains and snows, their elegant varnish, but every scrap of the internal trimmings of plush and velvet has disappeared, while the numerous small open freight-cars are daily used for removing manure from the German stables. The Coal or "Prospect Hill," immediately to the north of the Forbidden City, has been occupied as a station by troops of various nations, and men detailed from the Signal Service have there displayed their flags, while such civilians as have cared to do so have utilized this hitherto inaccessible spot for select picnics, the elevation giving a grand view of the whole city and its environs for many miles. It has been previously mentioned that most of the princely and ducal abodes in Peking have been occupied by foreign officers. That of Prince Chuang, where so many Christians were done to death under his immediate inspection, was taken by the Japanese, and has since been thoroughly inspected by those whom its occupant attempted to kill during the siege. The former abode of the late Prince Ch'un, father of the present Emperor, is the headquarters of the British General Stewart.

The Christians of the Mission of the American Board in Peking are largely gathered near the former mission premises, in a large Mongol palace which was the center of furious Boxer activity. It is not improbable that the place will be confiscated by the Chinese Government and sold to the Mission, being paid for out of the indemnity for the extensive property destroyed. The residence of Duke Chao, own brother, and Duke Te, nephew, of the Empress Dowager, is now in use by the T'ungchou Station of the American Board, the Christians being gathered in adjacent houses, since it is by no means yet safe for them to return to their villages. It is said that not many years ago this was the residence of a high official who built a pretty two-story pavilion called "The Chamber for Welcoming the Spring," commanding a view of the Imperial and the Forbidden Cities on the west. To gratify a spite, this official was accused by an enemy of cherishing traitorous designs, the proof being the illegal and unauthorized building with an outlook. He was fined an enormous sum of money, and committed suicide, his place being confiscated and given to the brothers of the Empress Dowager. Since the occupation of the premises by the T'ungchou Station, Mr. Tewksbury, its indefatigable manager-in-chief, has employed this upper story as a printing-office, whence have issued, together with much else, numerous copies of the tonic-sol-fa hymn-books to replace those destroyed last year. One of the rooms consists of five expansive divisions, and appeared to be foreordained for a chapel, which it has become. It is now filled every Sunday with several hundred Christians, and on several occasions the Duchess who formerly lived here has attended the morning worship, being delighted that their place is in foreign hands, where it is so well cared for. Within a few weeks the premises, through Prince Su as middleman, have been leased to the Mission for two years at a fair price, payment beginning at the signing of the Protocol in January. At the back of the room used as a chapel hangs a large tablet draped with white silk, as the Chinese symbol of mourning, and across its front are hung, against a background of blue cloth, tags of silk containing the names of those members of the T'ungchou church who gave their lives in witness of their faith. The list is far from complete, but at present there are the names of forty-four men, forty-six women, and forty children. Aside from

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those strictly connected with the church, many others, known as Third-Class Foreign Devils, were killed because of their incidental connection with church members.

Within the past week a unique series of funeral services has been held by some of the members of the T'ungchou Station, at five of their out-stations, in memory of more than eighty of their martyrs, some others having been previously buried, and the bodies of some who were killed in remoter villages being not yet recovered. It had previously been arranged with the headmen of the villages where these murders had been committed that a suitable cemetery should be furnished in each, the graves provided with headstones and a memorial tablet erected. Sufficient land was also made over to the Christian church to provide an income adequate for the support of the widows and orphans surviving. The villages furnished coffins of specified quality, with burial garments, and also paid all the expenses connected with the funeral expedition from Peking and return, General Chaffee furnishing as escort an honorary guard of ten cavalry with a captain. Two missionaries (Messrs. Tewksbury and Wilder) and two ladies (Misses Miner and Chapin), together with enough Christians to fill thirty-six carts, attended these funerals, the most affecting scenes being frequently witnessed, and the whole was a touching and a memorable occasion. Everywhere the utmost decorum was observed, but who knows what thoughts were slowly revolving in the minds of those who, although passive spectators now, were last summer active participators in the dreadful acts of butchery?

The Court at distant Singanfu has constantly kept up the form of announcing promotions and changes in the ranks of officials who seemed to have no visible functions. The Six Boards have been largely in abeyance since the capture of the city, but their officers are on hand, and some of them, at least, have specific duties. Two of the leading officials whose punishment was insisted upon by the Ministers were handed over to the Board of Punishments, and Ch'i-Hsiu, himself former President of one of the Boards, together with a son of the late tutor to the heir apparent, Hsu-T'ung, were publicly decapitated by this authority on the afternoon of December 26, in the presence of an enormous assembly of people.

The Board of Punishments jails, which were crowded with state prisoners when Peking was taken, were for a long time empty and deserted, but at present this yamen has become a sort of international prison, to which are sent from the various military districts criminals whose punishment has not been elsewhere adjudicated. The Boards of Works and of War are occupied by the British Indian troops. In all such cases the first step in putting the buildings in readiness for winter was to inclose the broad verandas with brick, make windows in the sides of blank walls, and thrust forth the indispensable stove-pipes, thus effecting a transformation adapted to bewilder and to horrify the old Conservative statesmen who have for generations conducted their routine business on the stereotyped pattern in these dismal sheds. The contents of the offices are scattered to the winds of heaven, or dispersed over the universe in allotropic forms of ashes and smoke. Careful and repeated inquiry makes it probable that, with the exception of the records of the Tsungliyamen, which for prudential reasons was protected by a foreign guard when Peking was occupied, practically all Chinese public documents are irrecoverably gone. To this it is to be hoped some exceptions may appear later, but literally none seem to be known of at present. The Temple of Heaven has from the first been a British headquarters, but excepting the Imperial Tablets and some of the ears of the huge bronze sacrificial vessels, there was less to be looted there than almost anywhere else.

Across the broad street leading to the front gate of the Tartar City are the capacious grounds of the Temple of Agriculture, all the buildings of which have been the principal United States Army headquarters. The reckless way in which the Americans have knocked holes in the walls of these ancient and sacred halls, in order to insert broad glass windows to let in a little daylight on the dim darkness of the past, might well suffice to cause old Shen-Nung, the traditional god of agriculture, to rise from the shades. One of the main buildings has been devoted to the uses of a soldiers' reading-

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room and for social and religious meetings, while others are hospitals, commissariat quarters, etc., etc.

Directly in front of the Temple of Heaven is the new terminus of the Tientsin and Peking Railway, formerly at Machaip'u, a mile or two outside the Southern City. A huge breach was made in the wall of the Southern City, through which the trains enter, reminding the traveler of old York in England—an innovation for which but for the Boxers we might have waited long. In front of the station stretches a long row of electric lights, the plant of which was rescued from the Summer Palace by the British, and is now for the first time made useful. The Tientsin railway enjoys the unique honor of having been voted away from its rightful managers after the capture of the Taku forts, by half a dozen admirals, for reasons which the untutored intellect has not been able to apprehend. As a result, it was repaired by a "concert (discord) of Powers," requiring three times as long as it should have done, and was then left in the hands of the Russians. After endless parleying it was then transferred to the Germans, the Russians taking advantage of their control to remove every portable object, including much of the rolling-stock, and the plant of the machine-shops at T'angshan, for use on their Manchurian lines. Negotiations in Europe at length succeeded in recovering a part of this property, but by no means the whole. After a German interregnum of a month or so, the British again took rightful charge, the road having been built by British subjects and the loan in a manner secured by the British Government.

The Luhan railway has been extended from Fengt'ai Junction through a breach made for the purpose in the western wall of the Southern City, along the southern face of the wall between the cities, directly to the Ch'ienmen or Front Gate—another improvement which no one dared hope to see in the compass of one lifetime. The very first open attack upon the foreigner in Peking was made at the end of May, through his hateful railway appliances, and the outcome of less than nine months is that two railways now terminate within Peking city walls, and it is further announced that another opening is to be made with a view to bringing the final terminus inside the new Legation Quarter in the Tartar City itself.

The carts and wagons which cluster about the station on arrival of the trains are kept from overrunning the platform by a long line of stone posts which have a familiar look. One face reads "Southwest boundary Wang Family," and the next "Northeast boundary Chang Family." They came from the corners of cemeteries in the country, the practical and unsentimental Occidental soldier finding the removal of these landmarks the easiest way to accomplish his end. The main street of the Southern City bristles with foreign signs totally unknown hitherto. Some announce Japanese stores, one flaunts a "Chicago Saloon," a small barber-shop has lately made its appearance, and prominent above all are the welcome initials of the Young Men's Christian Association, which, under the energetic charge of Dr. Phipps, has been doing a most wholesome work. It is a novel sight to see broad posters on the gateways leading to the Forbidden City, "Army Y. M. C. A. Reading, Writing, and Coffee Rooms." The appearance of English signs on the streets of Peking is itself a sign not to be mistaken. On an unimportant alley one comes upon the announcement printed in neat capitals: "The work shop in which any iron work are proposed." French and German notifications are also in evidence, and will not be less so in the future.

Let it not be supposed that because Western modes of transportation are increasingly employed, Asia is suddenly to be hustled into the abandonment of its past and of its traditions. Perhaps the best symbol of that past and of those traditions is the patient, slow, but sure-footed camel, who has always abounded in Peking streets, "a prince in winter, a beggar in summer," with bits of hair here and there clinging to his almost bare hide. The long lines which used to be seen loaded with tea for Russia have ceased, but droves of camels are still bringing coal from the Western Hills as of yore. It is a Chinese adage that when the camel carries despatches, whatever may be said of his speed, he is at least sure. Attentive contemplation of their apparently expressionless visages may reveal the ground-plan of a sly half-wink, as if the leader

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of the long line of deliberate creatures were calmly ruminating thus: "Ah! I perceive that you believe you could get on and not use me. Ah! you were wrong, as you shall see; for I am strong, I can wait long; here I belong; long after you and yours are gone, here I shall be." A few days after this aspect of the camel attracted our attention, a friend informed us that the Germans had "cornered the camel market" by buying eighteen hundred of them.

The numerous jinrikshas which had begun to form so prominent a feature in Peking, and which were so utterly extinguished by the siege and its concomitants, are again all-pervasive, forming a useful link in the not too abundant facilities for locomotion. Carts once more ply for hire, at rates somewhat advanced above those of former days, and the streets, a few of which had been metaled, are again badly worn by the heavy army and other traffic, and are but superficially repaired, if at all, by the military authorities. In ordinary times the dust is partly laid by throwing on the roads all the waste water of the city, but for many months this has been altogether pretermitted, and the result is such depths of loose, friable soil as passes all previous experience, which was already sufficiently painful. The whole winter may be said to have been one semi-continuous dust-storm, reducing life to its lowest terms, although the climate is not in itself objectionable. Under the present government of the city Peking is lighted at night as it has never been before, in many places every house being required to maintain a lamp at the door, and even on the walls of the Imperial City, and elsewhere where heretofore there has usually reigned Cimmerian darkness, small kerosene lamps now shine clear, enabling the traveler to see his way with sufficient distinctness. Even the smaller alleys are thus to some extent lit, and in the larger streets, as outside the Ch'ienmen, the effect is not unlike that of a Western row of lamps.

The military are also endeavoring to teach the Chinese how to keep their streets and alleys clean, an art never previously acquired in the capital of China. Should the occupation of the city be prolonged, there ought to be a marked improvement in its sanitation as a whole; but that the Chinese themselves will ever adopt and enforce regulations like these is too much to expect. As the saying goes, "When the windlass stops, the garden-beds dry up." The administration of the Germans in the Southern City is supposed to be more stern than that of any other Power, but, with all its severity, it does not put a stop to the endless petty robberies which are perpetually reported. The Chinese thieves are shrewd enough to know just where the few foreign patrols are to be found, and at a distance from these points horrible crimes may be committed without the smallest knowledge on the part of the foreign rulers.

In too many cases, especially in that of the Americans, the foreigners are altogether dependent upon native interpreters, to whom the temptation to make use of their position to feather their own nests is practically irresistible, this leading to serious scandals. The British army is much wiser, and employs only foreign interpreters of good character, and is in general much better served than ours. One of the military eccentricities is the renaming of all the Peking streets, one being Gaselee Road, another Stewart Road, etc., so that when an American soldier informs one that his barracks are at "the corner of Avenue A and Fifth Street," in the Southern City, it is necessary to study a new map. The huge piles of lime which were so conspicuous six months ago in readiness for the repair of the Peking highways have all been long since absorbed by the army people, or by private individuals who will doubtless never find lime so conveniently provided again. A combination of capital has got a "corner" on all the lime-kilns in the Western Hills region, as well as on all the brick-kilns, and expects to realize great sums when rebuilding once sets in, of which at present the signs are but faint. The siege barricades have everywhere been entirely removed, and the British Legation has been put into its normal trim and tidy condition. But at the extreme end of the North Stables the ruins are left as they were, while beneath, on the outer wall, stand the significant words "*Lest We Forget.*" The disposition of the refuse from the cavalry stables seems to be a perplexing problem, and it is at present very ill solved by making huge windrows in the spacious

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broadways in front of the Imperial City on the south, where there is a perpetual Gehenna, and where lean and mangy dogs during the bitter winter weather reposed in peace and security on the warm and reeking manure-piles.

The first instinct of the Occidental on taking possession of a Chinese city is to provide facile means of ingress and egress. The Chinese seldom make gates except in the center of the walls on each face, to the great inconvenience of traffic and to a waste of time utterly intolerable to Westerners. Peking had not been occupied three days before a hole had been blown through the walls into the Imperial City at the head of the canal above the British Legation, and this has ever since been an important thoroughfare. At a point more than half-way up the east face of the same wall another slit has been cut also, wide enough to admit of the passage of carts, saving many hours of time in crossing the city. But the greatest innovation of all is at the southwest corner of the Tartar City, where the British dug a tunnel quite through the entire outer wall, making an arch securely boarded in, and labeled in Chinese "English Gate." It has a barricade on the outside and on the inside, and has become indispensable to foreigners, although the Chinese will doubtless hasten to close it up when they have the power. The cutting thus laboriously drilled through the tough concrete, on which dynamite is said to have made but a faint impression, gives an interesting exhibition of the internal anatomy of the fourteen and a quarter miles of this vast protecting rampart, which after all failed to protect.

The ruins of the Astronomical Terrace on the eastern wall, from which the bronze astronomical instruments which had withstood the storms of nearly two centuries were removed by the Germans and the French to decorate their European capitals, constitute a permanent landmark to indicate the progress of barbarism under the form of civilization. The sheds of the Examination Halls near by have many of them likewise been destroyed by the soldiers to get firewood, and the same is true of hundreds of the public buildings of the city, as well as of numberless private houses.

A remarkable spectacle is at present to be seen at the southwestern angle of the Tartar City, where a force of coolies is engaged in demolishing the huge, many-storied tower of imposing dimensions, in order to use its numerous and magnificent timbers for railway ties! The foreign cemetery stands outside the wall, not far away, where last June the graves were violated by bands of men who came direct from the palace of Prince Chuang, at his order, for that purpose. A wall has been rebuilt around it, and the bodies of those marines and several civilians who died in or after the siege have been transferred thither with imposing military ceremonies. A similar removal of the bodies of men of other nationalities has also taken place. But the great willow-trees, nearly forty years old, cannot be replaced in many summers, and the memories of the hideous desecration will survive for many weary decades. Among the foreign signs along the street, which the Chinese have named after the Board of War, is that of the office of a tiny sheet called the Peking "Times," an English newspaper, which is doubtless the infantile precursor of a new era in journalistic enterprise and in Western advance. Small as it is, it has a Chinese and a Japanese department, telegrams are printed in English, French, and German, and articles appear in Italian as well as in French. It is a symbol of one of the many outcomes of the great Boxer uprising which was to drive all foreigners into the sea never to return. Instead of that, all nations now dominate the Chinese capital with their armies, their languages, their extended railways, and their network of telegraph-lines running into the arcana of the hitherto Forbidden City. Peking has been turned inside out, like the fingers of a glove, but whose hand shall ultimately fill it still remains to be settled.

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THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN[1]

An Autobiography

BY JACOB A. RIIS

Author of "How the Other Half Lives," "A Ten Years' War," etc., etc.

Chapter VI.—In which I Become an Editor and Receive My First Love-Letter

I HAD my hands full that winter. The profession I had entered by so thorny a path did not prove to be a bed of roses. But I was not looking for roses. I doubt if I would have known what to do with them had there been any. Hard work and hard knocks had been my portion heretofore, and I was fairly trained down to that. Besides, now that the question where the next meal was to come from did not loom up whichever way I looked, the thing for me was to be at work hard enough and long enough to keep from thinking. With every letter from home I expected to hear that she was married, and then—I never got any further. A furious kind of energy took possession of me at the mere idea, and I threw myself upon my work in a way that speedily earned for me the name of a good reporter. "Good" had reference to the quantity of work done rather than to the quality of it. That was of less account than our ability to "get around" to our assignments; necessarily so, for we mostly had six or seven of an evening to attend, our route extending often from Harlem clear down to the Bowery. So that they were nearly "on a line," we were supposed to have no cause of complaint. Our office sold news to morning and evening papers both, and our working day, which began at 10 A.M., was seldom over until one or two o'clock the next morning. Three reporters had to attend to all the general news of the city that did not come through the regular department channels.

A queerly assorted trio we were: "Doc" Lynch, who had graduated from the medical school in Bohemia, following a natural bent, I suppose; Crafts, a Maine boy of angular frame and prodigious self-confidence; and myself. Lynch I have lost sight of long ago. Crafts, I am told, is rich and prosperous, the owner of a Western newspaper. That was bound to happen to him. I remember him in the darkest days of that winter, when to small pay, hard work, and long hours had been added an attack of measles that kept him in bed in his desolate boarding-house, far from kindred and friends. "Doc" and I had run in on a stolen visit to fill their place as well as we might. We sat around trying to look as cheerful as we could and succeeding very poorly; but Crafts's belief in himself and his star soared above any trivialities of present discouragement. I see him now rising on his elbow and transfixing the two of us with long, prophetic forefinger:

"The secret of my success," he said, impressively, "I lay to—"

We never found out to what he laid it, for we both burst out laughing, and Crafts, after a passing look of surprise, joined in. But that finger prophesied truly. His pluck won the day, and won it fairly. They were two good comrades in a tight place. I shouldn't want any better.

Running around was only working off steam, of which we had plenty. The long rides, on Harlem assignments, in horse-cars with straw in the bottom that didn't keep our feet from freezing until all feeling in them was gone, were worse, a good deal. At the mere thought of them I fall to nursing my toes for reminiscent pangs. However, I had at least enough to eat. At the downtown Delmonico's and the other big restaurants, through the windows of which I had so often gazed with hungry eyes, I now sometimes sat at big spreads and public dinners, never without thinking of the old days and the poor fellows who might then be having my hard luck. It was not so long since that I could have forgotten. I bit a mark in

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the Mulberry Bend, too, as my professional engagements took me that way, promising myself that the day should come when I would have time to attend to it. For the rest, if I had an hour to spare, I put it in at the telegraph instrument. I had still the notion that it might not be labor lost. And though I never had professional use for it, it did come handy to me as a reporter more than once. There is scarcely anything one can learn that will not sooner or later be useful to a newspaper man, if he is himself of the kind that wants to be useful.

Along in the spring some politicians in South Brooklyn who had started a weekly newspaper to boom their own fortunes found themselves in need of a reporter, and were told of a "young Dutchman" who might make things go. I was that "Dutchman." They offered me fifteen dollars a week, and on May 20, 1874, I carried my grip across the river, and, all unconscious that I was on the turning tide in my fortunes, cast in my lot with "Beecher's crowd," as the boys in the office said derisively when I left them.

In two weeks I was the editor of the paper. That was not a vote of confidence, but pure economy on the part of my owners. They saved forty dollars a week by giving me twenty-five and the name of editor. The idea of an editor in anything but the name I do not suppose had ever entered their minds. Theirs was an "organ," and for the purposes for which they had started it they thought themselves abundantly able to run it. I, on my part, quickly grew high notions of editorial independence. Their purposes had nothing to do with it. The two views proved irreconcilable. They clashed quite regularly, and perhaps it was as much that they were tired of the editor as that the paper was a drag upon them that made them throw it up after the fall elections, in which they won. The press and the engine were seized for debt. The last issue of the "South Brooklyn News" had been put upon the street, and I went to the city to make a bargain with the foundryman for the type. It was in the closing days of the year. Christmas was at the door, with its memories. Tired and disheartened, I was on my way back as the bells were ringing in the Holy Eve. I stood at the bow of a Fulton Street ferryboat listening sadly to them, and watching the lights of the city I had gone to with such high hopes. Now it was all over, and I should have to strike a new trail. Where would that lead? What did it matter, anyhow? Nobody cared. Why should I?

A beautiful meteor shot out of the heavens overhead and spanned the river with a shining arc. I watched it sail slowly over Williamsburg, its trail glowing long against the dark sky, and mechanically the old wish rose to my lips. It was a superstition with us when we were children that if we were quick enough to "wish out" before the star was extinguished, the wish would come true. I had tried a hundred times, always to fail; but for once I had ample time. A bitter sigh smothered the wish, half uttered. My chance had come too late. Even now she might be another man's wife, and I—I had just made another failure of it, as usual.

It had never happened in all the holiday seasons I had been away that a letter from home had reached me in time for Christmas Eve, and it was a sore subject with me. For it was ever the dearest in the year to me, and is now. But that evening, when I came home, in a very ill humor, for the first time I found the coveted letter. It told me of the death of my two older brothers and of my favorite aunt. In a postscript my father added that Lieutenant B——, Elizabeth's affianced husband, had died in the city hospital at Copenhagen. She herself was living among strangers. She had chosen her lover when the family demanded of her that she give him up as a hopeless invalid. They thought it all for her good. Of her I should have expected nothing less. But she shall tell the story of that herself.

When I had read the letter through, I lay down upon my bed and wept. When I arose, it was to go to the owners of my paper with a proposition to buy it. They laughed at me at first, asked to see my money. As a reporter for the news bureau I had saved up $75, rather because I had no time to spend it than with any definite notion of what I was going to do with it. This I offered to them, and pointed out that the sale of the old type, which was all that was left of the paper besides the good-

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will, would bring no more. One of them, more reasonable than the rest—the one who had generally paid the scores while the others took the tricks—was disposed to listen. The upshot of it was that I bought the paper for $650, giving notes for the rest, to be paid when I could. If I could not, they were not much out. And then, again, I might succeed.

I did; by what effort I hesitate to set down here lest I be not believed. The "News" was a big four-page sheet. Literally every word in it I wrote myself. I was my own editor, reporter, publisher, and advertising agent. My pen kept two printers busy all the week, and left me time to canvass for advertisements, attend meetings, and gather the news. Friday night the local undertaker, who advertised in the paper and paid in kind, took the forms over to New York, where the press-work was done. In the early morning hours I shouldered the edition—it was not very large in those days—and carried it from Spruce Street down to Fulton Ferry, and then home on a Fifth Avenue car. I recall with what inward rage I submitted to being held up by every chance policeman and prodded facetiously in the ribs with remarks about the "old man's millions," etc. Once or twice it boiled over and I was threatened with summary arrest. When I got home, I slept on the counter with the edition for my pillow, in order to be up with the first gleam of daylight to skirmish for newsboys. I gathered them in from street and avenue, compelled them to come in if they were not willing, and made such inducements for them that shortly South Brooklyn resounded with the cry of "News" from sunrise to sunset on Saturday. The politicians who had been laughing at my "weekly funeral" beheld with amazement the paper thrust under their noses at every step. They heard its praises, or the other thing, sung on every hand. From their point of view it was the same thing: the paper was talked of. Their utmost effort had failed of that. When, on June 5, Her birthday, I paid down in hard cash what was left of the purchase sum and hoisted the flag over an independent newspaper, freed from debt, they came around with honeyed speeches to make friends. I scarcely heard them. Deep down in my soul a voice kept repeating unceasingly: Elizabeth is free! She is free, free! That night, in the seclusion of my den, clutching grimly the ladder upon which I had at last got my feet, I resolved that I would reach the top, or die climbing. The morning sun shone through my window and found me sleepless, pouring out my heart to her, four thousand miles away.

I carried the letter to the post-office myself, and waited till I saw it started on its long journey. I stood watching the carrier till he turned the corner, then went back to my work.

To that work there had been added a fresh spur just when I was at last free from all trammels. The other strongest of human emotions had been stirred within me. In a Methodist revival—it was in the old Eighteenth Street Church—I had fallen under the spell of the preacher's fiery eloquence. Brother Simmons was of the old circuit-riders' stock, albeit their day was long past in our staid community. He had all their power, for the spirit burned within him; and he brought me to the altar quickly, though in my own case conversion refused to work the prescribed amount of agony. Perhaps it was because I had heard Mr. Beecher question the correctness of the prescription. When a man traveling in the road found out, he said, that he had gone wrong, he did not usually roll in the dust and agonize over his mistake; he just turned around and went the other way. It struck me so, but none the less with deep conviction. In fact, with the heat of the convert, I decided on the spot to throw up my editorial work and take to preaching. But Brother Simmons would not hear of it.

"No, no, Jacob," he said; "not that. We have preachers enough. What the world needs is consecrated pens."

Then and there I consecrated mine. I wish I could honestly say that it has always come up to the high ideal set it then. I can say, though, that it has ever striven toward it, and that scarcely a day has passed since that I have not thought of the charge then laid upon it and upon me.

The immediate result was a campaign for reform that made the town stare. It struck the politicians first. They were Democrats, and I was running a Democratic paper. I did it *con amore*, too, for it was in the days of the scandals of

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Grant's second term, and the disgrace of it was foul. So far we were agreed. But it happened that the chief obstacle to Democratic success in the Twenty-second Ward, where my paper was located, was the police captain of the precinct, John Mackellar, who died the other day as Deputy Chief of the Borough of Brooklyn. Mackellar was a Republican of a pronounced type and a good deal of a politician besides. Therefore he must go. But he was my friend. I had but two in the entire neighborhood who really cared for me—Edward Wells, clerk in a drug-store across the street, who was of my own age, and Mackellar. Between us had sprung up a strong attachment, and I could not think of having Mackellar removed, particularly as he had done nothing to deserve it. He was a good policeman. I told the bosses so. They insisted; pleaded political expedience. I told them I would not allow it, and, when they went ahead in spite of me, told the truth about it in my paper. The Twenty-second was really a Republican ward. The attitude of the "News" killed the job.

The Democratic bosses were indignant.

"How can we run the ward with you acting that way?" they asked. I told them I did not care if they didn't. I could run it better myself, it seemed.

They said nothing. They had other resources. The chief of them—he was a judge—came around and had a friendly talk with me. He showed me that I was going against my own interest. I was just starting out in life. I had energy, education. They were qualities that in politics were convertible into gold, much gold, if I would but follow him and his fortunes.

"I never had an education," he said. "I need you. If you will stick to me, I will make you rich."

I think he meant it. He certainly could have done so had he chosen. He himself died rich. He was not a bad fellow, as bosses go. But I did not like boss politics. And the bait did not tempt me. I never wanted to be rich. I am afraid it would make me grasping; I think I am built that way. Anyhow, it is too much bother. I wanted to run my own paper, and I told him so.

"Well," he said, "you are young. Think it over."

It was some time after that I read in a newspaper, upon returning from a hunting trip to Staten Island, that I had been that day appointed an interpreter in my friend the judge's court, at a salary of $100 a month. I went to him and asked him what it meant.

"Well," he said, "we need an interpreter. There are a good many Scandinavians and Germans in my district. You know their language?"

"But," I protested, "I have no time to go interpreting police court cases. I don't want the office."

He pushed me out with a friendly shoulder-pat. "You go back and wait till I send for you. We can lump the cases, and we won't need you every day."

In fact, they did not need me more than two or three times that month, at the end of which I drew my pay with many qualms of conscience. My services were certainly not worth the money I received. Such is the soothing power of public "pap:" on the second pay-day, though I had performed even less service, I did not feel nearly so bad about it. My third check I drew as a matter of course. I was "one of the boys" now, and treated with familiarity by men whom I did not like a bit, and who, I am sure, did not like me. But the cordiality did not long endure. It soon appeared that the interpreter in the judge's court had other duties than merely to see justice done to helpless foreigners; among them to see things politically as His Honor did. I did not. A ruction followed speedily—I think it was about our old friend Mackellar—that wound up by his calling me an ingrate. It was a favorite word of his, as I have noticed it is of all bosses, and it meant everything reprehensible. He did not discharge me; he couldn't. I was as much a part of the court as he was, having been appointed under a State law. But the power of the Legislature that had created me was invoked to kill me, and, for appearance's sake, the office. Before it adjourned, the same Legislature resurrected the office, but not me. So contradictory is human nature that by that time I was quite ready to fight for my "rights." But for once I was outclassed. The judge and the Legislature were too many for me, and I retired as gracefully as I could.

So ceased my career as a public officer,

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and forever. It was the only office I ever held, and I do not want another. I am ashamed yet, twenty-five years after, of having held that one. Because, however I try to gloss it over, I was, while I held it, a sinecurist, pure and simple.

However, it did not dampen my zeal for reform in the least. That encompassed the whole range of my little world; nor would it brook delay even for a minute. It did not consider ways and means, and was in no wise tempered with discretion. Looking back now, it seems strange that I never was made to figure in the police court in those days in another capacity than that of interpreter. Not that I did anything for which I should have been rightly jailed. But people will object to being dragged by the hair even in the ways of reform. When the grocer on my corner complained that he was being ruined by "beats" who did not pay their bills and thereby compelled him to charge those who did pay more, in order that he might live, I started in at once to make those beats pay up. I gave notice, in a plain statement of the case in my editorial columns, that they must settle their scores for the sake of the grocer and the general good, or I would publish their names. I was as good as my word. I not only published the list of them, but how much and how long they owed it, and called upon them to pay or move out of the ward.

Did they move? Well, no! Perhaps it was too much to expect. They were comfortable. They stayed to poison the mind of the town against the man who was lying awake nights to serve it; in which laudable effort they were ably seconded by the corner grocer. I record without regret the subsequent failure of that tradesman. There were several things wrong with the details of my campaign—for one thing, I had omitted to include him among the beats—but in its large lines we can all agree that it was right. It was only another illustration of the difficulty of reducing high preaching to practice. Instead of society hailing me as its savior, I grew personally unpopular. I doubt if I had another friend in the world besides the two I have mentioned. But the circulation of my paper grew enormously. It was doubled and trebled week by week—a fact which I accepted as public recognition of the righteousness of my cause. I was wrong in that. The fact was that ours was a community of people with a normally healthy appetite for knowing one's neighbor's business. I suppose the thing has been mistaken before by inexperience for moral enthusiasm, and will be again.

I must stop here to tell the reason why I would not convict the meanest thief on circumstantial evidence. I would rather let a thousand go free than risk with one what I risked and shudder yet to think of. There had been some public excitement that summer about mad dogs, especially spitz dogs. A good many persons had been bitten, and the authorities of Massachusetts, if I remember rightly, had put that particular breed under the ban as dangerous at all times. There was one always prowling about the lot behind my office, through which the way led to my boarding-house, and, when it snapped at my leg in passing one day, I determined to kill it in the interest of public safety. I sent my office-boy out to buy a handful of buckshot, and, when he brought it, set about loading both barrels of the fowling-piece that stood in my office. While I was so occupied, my friend the drug-clerk came in, and wanted to know what I was up to. Shooting a dog, I said, and he laughed:

"Looks as though you were going gunning for your beats."

I echoed his laugh thoughtlessly enough; but the thing reminded me that it was unlawful to shoot within the city limits, and I sent the boy up to the station to tell the captain to never mind if he heard shooting around: I was going out for a dog. With that I went forth upon my quest.

The dog was there; but he escaped before I could get a shot at him. He dodged, growling and snapping, among the weeds, and at last ran into a large inclosed lot in which there were stacks of lumber and junk and many hiding-places. I knew that he could not get out, for the board fence was high and tight. So I went in and shut the door after me, and had him.

I should have said before that among my enemies was a worthless fellow, a hanger-on of the local political machine, who had that afternoon been in the office annoying me with his loud and boisterous

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talk. He was drunk, and as there were some people to see me, I put him out. He persisted in coming back, and I finally told him, in the hearing of a dozen persons, to go about his business, or some serious harm would befall him. If I connected any idea with it, it was to call a policeman; but I left them to infer something worse, I suppose. Getting arrested was not very serious business with him. He went out, swearing.

It was twilight when I began my still-hunt for the spitz in the lumber-lot, and the outlines of things were more or less vague; but I followed the dog about until at last I made him out standing on a pile of boards a little way off. It was my chance. I raised the gun quickly and took aim. I had both barrels cocked and my finger on the trigger, when something told me quite distinctly not to shoot; to put down the gun and go closer. I did so, and found, not the dog as I thought, but my enemy whom I had threatened but an hour or two before, asleep at full length on the stack, with his coat rolled under his head for a pillow. It was his white shirt-bosom which I had mistaken in the twilight for the spitz dog.

He never knew of his peril. I saw my own at a glance, and it appalled me. Stranger that I was, hated and denounced by many who would have posed as victims of my violence; with this record against me of threatening the man whom I would be accused of having slain an hour later; with my two only friends compelled to give evidence which would make me out as artfully plotting murder under the shield of a palpable invention—for who ever heard of any one notifying the police that he was going to shoot a dog?—with no family connection or previous good character to build a defense upon; where would have been my chance of escape? What stronger chain of circumstantial evidence could have been woven to bring me, an innocent man, to the gallows? I have often wished to forget that evening by the sleeping man in the lumber-lot. I cannot even now write calmly about it. Many months passed before I could persuade myself to touch my gun, fond as I had always been of carrying it through the woods.

Of all this the beats knew nothing. They kept up their warfare of backbiting and of raising petty ructions at the office when I was not there, until I hit upon the plan of putting Pat in charge. Pat was a typical Irish coal-heaver, who would a sight rather fight than eat. There was a coal office in the building, and Pat was generally hanging around, looking for a job. I paid him a dollar a week to keep the office clear of intruders, and after that there was no trouble. There was never any fighting, either. The mere appearance of Pat in the doorway was enough, to his great disgust. It was a success as far as preserving the peace of the office was concerned. But with it there grew up, unknown to me, an impression that personally I would not fight, and the courage of the beats rose correspondingly. They determined to ambush me and have it out with me. One wintry Saturday night, when I was alone in the office closing up the business of the week, they met on the opposite corner to see me get a thrashing. One of their number, a giant in stature, but the biggest coward of the lot, was to administer it. He was fitted out with an immense hickory club for the purpose, and to nerve his arm they filled him with drink.

My office had a large window running the whole length of the front, with a sill knee-high that made a very good seat when chairs were scarce. Only, one had to be careful not to lean against the window. It was made of small panes set in a slight wooden framework, which every strong wind blew out or in, and I was in constant dread lest the whole thing should collapse. On that particular night the window was covered with a heavy hoar-frost, so that it was quite impossible to see from outside what was going on within, or *vice versa*. From my seat behind the desk I caught sight through the door, as it was opened by a chance caller, of the gang on the opposite corner, with Jones and his hickory club, and knew what was coming. I knew Jones, too, and awaited his début as a fighter with some curiosity.

He came over, bravely enough, after the fifth or sixth drink, opened the door, and marched in with the tread of a grenadier. But the moment it fell to behind him, he stood and shook so that the club fairly rattled on the floor. Outside the gang were hugging their sides in expectation of what was coming.

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"Well, Jones," I said, "what is it?"

He mumbled something so tremulously and incoherently that I felt really sorry for him. Jones was not a bad fellow, though he was in bad company just then. I told him so, and that it would be best for him to go out quietly, or he might hurt himself. He seemed to be relieved at the suggestion, and when I went from behind the counter and led him toward the door he went willingly enough. But as I put my hand on the latch he remembered his errand, and, with a sudden plucking up of courage at the thought of the waiting gang, he raised the stick to strike at me.

Honestly, I didn't touch the man with a finger. I suppose he stumbled over the sill, as I had sometimes done in my sober senses. Whatever the cause, he fell against the window, and out with him it went, the whole of the glass front, with a crash that resounded from one end of the avenue to the other, and brought neighbors and policemen, among them my friend the captain, on a run to the store. In the midst of the wreck lay Jones, moaning feebly that his back was broken. The beats crowded around with loud outcry.

"He threw him out of the window," they cried. "We saw him do it! Through window and all, threw him bodily! Did he not, Jones?"

Jones, who was being picked up and carried into my office, where they laid him on the counter while they sent in haste for the doctor, nodded that it was so. Probably he thought it was. I cannot even blame the beats. It must have seemed to them that I threw him out. They called upon the captain with vehement demand to arrest me for murder. I looked at him; his face was serious.

"Why, I didn't touch him," I said, indignantly. "He must have fallen."

"Fallen!" they shouted. "We saw him come flying through. Fallen! Look at the window." And indeed it was a sorry sight.

Dr. Howe came with his instrument-box, and the crowd increased. The doctor was a young man who had been very much amused by my battle with the beats, and, though he professed no special friendship for me, had no respect for the others. He felt the groaning patient over, punched him here and there, looked surprised, and felt again. Then he winked one eye at the captain and me.

"Jones," he said, "get up! There is nothing the matter with you. Go and get sober."

The beats stood speechless.

"He came right through this window," they began. "We saw him—"

"Something has come through the window, evidently," said the captain, with asperity, "and broken it. Who is to pay for it? If you say it was Jones, it is my duty to hold you as witnesses, if Mr. Riis makes a charge of disorderly conduct against him, as I suppose he will." He trod hard on my toe. "A man cannot jump through another man's window like that. Here, let me—"

But they were gone. I never heard from them again. But ever after the reputation clung to me of being a terrible fighter when roused. Jones swore to it, drunk or sober. Twenty witnesses backed him up. I was able to discharge Pat that week. There was never an ill word in my street after that. I suppose my renown as a scrapper survives yet in the old ward. As in the other case, the chain of circumstantial evidence was perfect. No link was missing. None could have been forged to make it stronger.

I wouldn't hang a dog on such evidence. And I think I am justified in taking that stand.

The summer and fall had worn away and no word had come from home. Mother, who knew, gave no sign. Every day, when the letter-carrier came up the street, my hopes rose high until he had passed. The letter I longed for never came. It was farthest from my thoughts when, one night in the closing days of a hot political campaign, I went to my office and found it lying there. I knew by the throbbing of my heart what it was the instant I saw it. I think I sat as much as a quarter of an hour staring dumbly at the unopened envelope. Then I arose slowly, like one grown suddenly old, put it in my pocket, and stumbled homeward, walking as if in a dream. I went up to my room and locked myself in.

It lies before me as I write, that blessed letter, the first love-letter I had ever received; much faded and worn, and patched in many places to keep it together. The queer row of foreign stamps climbing over one another—she told me afterward that she had no idea how many were

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needed for a letter to America, and was afraid to ask, so she put on three times more than would have been enough—and the address in her fair round hand,

Mr. Jacob A. Riis
Editor South Brooklyn News
Fifth Avenue cor. Ninth Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.
North America,

the postmark of the little town of Hadersleben, where she was teaching school, the old-fashioned shape of the envelope—they all then and there entered into my life and became part of it, to abide forever with light and joy and thanksgiving. How much of sunshine one little letter can contain! Six years seemed all at once the merest breath of time to have waited for it. Toil, hardship, trouble—with that letter in my keep? I laughed out loud at the thought. The sound of my own voice sobered me. I knelt down and prayed long and fervently that I might strive with all my might to deserve the great happiness that had come to me.

The stars were long out when my landlord, who had heard my restless walk overhead, knocked to ask if anything was the matter. He must have seen it in my face when he opened the door, for he took a sidelong step, shading his eyes from the lamp to get a better look, and held out his hand.

"Wish you joy, old man," he said, heartily. "Tell us of it, will you?" And I did.

It is true that all the world loves a lover. It smiled upon me all day long, and I smiled back. Even the beats looked askance at me no longer. The politicians who came offering to buy the influence of my paper in the election were allowed to escape with their lives. I wrote—I think I wrote to her every day. At least that is what I do now when I go away from home. She laughs when she tells me that in the first letter I spoke of coming home in a year. Meanwhile, according to her wish, we were to say nothing about it. In the second letter I decided upon the following spring. In the third I spoke of perhaps going in the winter. The fourth and the fifth preferred the early winter. The sixth reached her from Hamburg, on the heels of a telegram announcing that I had that day arrived in the Frisia.

What had happened was that just at the right moment the politicians had concluded, upon the evidence of the recent elections, that they could not allow an independent paper in the ward, and had offered to buy it outright. I was dreadfully overworked. The doctor urged a change. I did not need much urging. So I sold the paper for five times what I had paid for it, and took the first steamer for home. Only the other day, when I was lecturing in Chicago, a woman came up and asked if I was the Riis she had traveled with on a Hamburg steamer twenty-five years before, and who was going home to be married. She had never forgotten how happy he was. She and the rest of the passengers held it to be their duty to warn me that "she" might not turn out as nice as I thought she was.

"I guess we might have spared ourselves the trouble," she said, looking me over.

Yes, they might. But I shall have to put off telling of that till next time. And I shall let Elizabeth, my Elizabeth now, tell her part of it in her own way.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

A Sacrifice

By Robin Alden

Behold within the woods a touching thing,
A sacrifice to Winter made by Spring.
On trembling stem, in waxen shell-pink cup,
Arbutus' fragrant soul is offered up.

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The Rights of Man

A Study in Twentieth Century Problems

By Lyman Abbott

Chapter VII.—The Single Tax

WE have seen that the democracy of industry involves two fundamental principles: first, the right of every man to labor and to earn by his labor enough for the support of his life and that of his family, and the right to possess the fruits of this labor, and do what he will therewith, provided he does not so use them as to violate the rights or impair the welfare of his neighbor; second, the right to an equable share in that common property which is not the product of any man's industry, but the gift of God, and which must therefore be assumed to belong to all God's children. We have seen further that while this first principle is recognized and to some extent maintained by society, the second principle is not recognized; that out of the failure to recognize it grow most of our so-called labor troubles; that the industrial unrest and agitation is an attempt, often blind and ill directed, to bring about a more equable division of this common wealth.

Such a division can be accomplished either by revolution or evolution. Our present industrial system throughout the civilized world is based upon the private ownership of the common wealth. The common ownership of the common wealth, wherever it has been attempted, has failed to furnish any adequate reward to enterprise, and so any adequate incentive to industry. Communism in all its forms assumes in man a virtue which he does not possess, and fails to furnish that stimulus which is essential, not only to the production of the greatest wealth, but to the development of the best character. If the present industrial system were overturned by a revolution, and the people were to become owners in common of the common wealth, the result would be a derangement of the industrial organization which would bring immeasurable suffering, accompanied with gross injustice, upon all classes of the community. It would be a revolution like that of France in 1789, probably accompanied with distress more widespread, though possibly ameliorated by the humanitarian spirit which did not exist in France a century ago. Such a revolution might possibly be endured if great benefits were to follow, but, so far as it is possible to foresee, great benefits would not follow. For the common ownership of the common land, if effected, would probably produce in civilized communities the same sort of effect which it has produced in India, in Russia, and among the North American Indians. What society needs is not a revolution which will destroy private property in the common wealth, but an evolution which will accomplish changes as great by processes more gradual, and will leave operative on character and society all the incentives which private ownership affords, and will yet preserve for all the people their right to an equable share in the benefits of that wealth which is not produced by personal industry. The method proposed for this purpose, a method which makes very slow progress, and in spite of years of agitation is as yet understood only by the few, is that miscalled the Single Tax.

At present the expenses of governments are chiefly met by three forms of taxation: a tariff tax on imports, a tax on incomes, and a tax on property, real and personal.

The tariff on imports is an unjust tax because it is levied, not upon property nor on income, but upon expenditure. The rich man calls on government for much greater protection than the poor man. If he is a landlord, he has a hundred houses to be protected; the poor man has but one. If he is a stockholder in a great railroad, he has a highway thousands of miles long to be protected, while the poor man has nothing but the pathway from his front door to his gate. The rich man ought therefore to pay a very much larger tax than the poor man. It ought to be proportioned to the value of his property, because the value of his

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property determines, roughly speaking, the amount of protection which he needs. He who has fifty millions of dollars invested in mines, railroads, oil-wells, ought to pay nearly ten thousand times as much taxes as the householder who has a home in the village or a farm in the country worth five thousand dollars. But if the tax is levied upon imports, he who has fifty million dollars to protect does not pay ten thousand times more taxes than he who has five thousand dollars in a homestead to be protected. The millionaire wears somewhat more expensive clothing, lives in a somewhat more expensive house, has somewhat more expensive furniture, eats somewhat more expensive food; but it is perfectly evident that he cannot, if he tries, expend on himself and his family ten thousand times as much as his humbler neighbor. Taxes, therefore, levied on expenditure are always and necessarily unjust.

The second tax is one on incomes. The income can generally be ascertained only by the statement of the man who has the income; an income tax, therefore, tempts every man to make false statement of his income in order to reduce his tax. A tax system which involves wholesale temptation is not a system to be commended if any better one can be found. But this is not all. Men who live upon salaries can state their income accurately; men who live upon profits derived from business cannot state their income accurately. It often happens that a business man cannot tell in any given year whether he has made any profit. He never can tell accurately how much profit he has made, for he must always make allowance for the rise in value of some things he has purchased and the fall in value of others, and this estimate of stock in hand is rarely more than a shrewd guess. An income tax, therefore, falls proportionately more heavily on the man whose income is in salaries or wages than on the man whose income is in profits. That is, it falls more heavily on the dependent, if not on the poorer, classes. But that is not all. Income, again, may be derived from industry, or it may be derived from investment. The investment is property which the government must protect, and the protection of this property requires governmental expenditure, while the protection of the individual requires but little governmental expenditure, and practically no more for the man who is earning a hundred dollars a day than for the man who is earning one dollar a day. An income tax, therefore, is, in the third place, inequable because it is not proportioned to the expenditure demanded of the government by the persons taxed. A tax on income derived from industry is a tax on industry itself, which should be the last to be taxed.

The third source of government revenue is a tax upon property, real and personal. If the value of all property, real and personal, could be justly estimated, and the tax could be levied on the property thus estimated in the proportion of its actual value, the result would be a just and reasonable tax; but in effect this is impossible. For government is dependent upon the citizen's own statement for its knowledge of the citizen's personal property. It is largely dependent on his statement for its estimate of the value of that property. The citizen is thus brought under temptation both to conceal the possession of personal property and underestimate its value, and in point of fact this temptation is so considerable that personal property largely escapes taxation. This escape of personal property from taxation is so common, and the frauds and falsehoods into which men are led by the desire to secure the same exemption which their neighbors secure is so great, that the abolition of all tax on personal property has been very earnestly urged by both moral reformers and financial reformers in the interest both of simplicity and of justice. Yet it seems difficult, if not impossible, to defend on abstract principles a system of taxation which levies all the expenses of government on real estate, for no other reason than that real estate cannot be hidden away from the assessor's inspection. Why should the man who has put his industry into a house pay a tax, while the man who has put his industry into horses, carriages, dresses, or bank stock—that is, money loaned to others—not pay a tax? The one derives benefit from the government no less than the other. Justice would seem to require that he should pay as well as the other.

The so-called Single Tax proposes to

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rid government of all these perplexities by assuming as true what in the previous article I have tried to show is true, that land and its contents are not proper subjects of private ownership; that the land which in the Hebrew commonwealth belonged to God, and in the feudal system belonged to the king, in a republic belongs to all the people. It proposes to make them the landlord, and it asserts that if as landlord they receive a rental which fairly represents the value of the land and its contents, no one will need to pay any taxes; that if, in other words, the people come by their own, they have income enough for all the expenses of government, and probably some to spare.

Thus properly speaking, the Single Tax is not a tax at all. It is an exemption from all taxation by means of a resumption of the common wealth by its owners, the common people. What would be called a tax would really be a rental, and this rental would be based, not on the idea that the man who pays it pays for the protection which government affords his property; it would be based on the idea that the man who pays it pays to the owner of the land a rental for the land of which he is the tenant. This rental would be paid, or this tax would be levied, not on real estate, but on land and its contents. All that human industry had done to improve the land would belong to the owner—he would pay no tax on it; all the value inherent in the land as God has made it, or added to the land by what the public has done for it, would belong to the public, and this value the public would receive in rental, or taxation.

Thus, let the reader imagine two plots of ground, each one hundred acres in extent, side by side in a rural district where wild land sells for five dollars an acre. One of them is wild. No tree is felled, no plow has ever turned the virgin soil, no fence has been erected. Everything is as nature made it. The other is a cultivated farm, with house, barns, outhouses, orchard, cultivated meadow-land. The uncultivated land is worth in the market five hundred dollars; the cultivated farm would be worth five thousand dollars. But for purposes of taxation each would be estimated as worth five hundred dollars, and on that five hundred dollars the tax or rent would be estimated, and for the simple reason that the man who had built the house and the barn and the outhouses, and planted the orchard, and constructed the fences, would not pay any tax on this wealth, which is the product of his industry. Of this the people are not the owners; he is the owner. Or, again, let the reader imagine two lots side by side in the center of a great city, where a lot one hundred feet by fifty is worth a thousand dollars. One stands vacant; on the other a ten-thousand-dollar building has been erected. On each lot the same tax would be paid, or, to speak more accurately, for each lot the same rent would be collected, because the owner of the building would pay no rent for that building, which is the product of his industry; he would pay rent only for the land, which is not the product of his industry, the value of which has been created partly by the God who made it, partly by the entire community who live in its vicinity, and who, therefore, should receive the benefit of the value which their presence and activity have conferred upon it.

In a similar manner the owner of a mine—whether coal, gold, copper, or iron—would pay in rent the value of the mine as fairly estimated before ever a pick had been put into the hillside. All the product of the industry which had opened up the mine and made its treasure available would belong to him. All the value of the mine as raw material, and all the increased value of that mine due to the opening of railroads, the increase of population, the development of civilization, would belong to the State, not to the owner, because it would be the gift of God enhanced by the product of the general activity of the community. The value thus added by the general social conditions which surround land is the "unearned increment" of which the reader so often hears in the discussion of this subject.

But, as we have seen, it is not only land and its contents that belong to the public. Forces of nature belong to the public also. The right of the public to these forces is now recognized by our patent laws, which give to the patentee a right to his special use of them only for a limited term. It is quite conceivable that these patent laws should be so modified as to enable government, and perhaps

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any individual, to take advantage of the patented device on paying, not whatever the patentee may choose to ask for his device, but what a disinterested tribunal may think that it is worth. Not only the forces of nature, but the great franchises created by the State, belong to the State. The exclusive right to run a car-track through the street of a great city, the exclusive right of a railroad corporation to run a railroad from New York to Buffalo, belongs primarily to the people, in the one case of the city, in the other case of the State. That it belongs to them is evident from the fact that the track cannot be laid down in the street of the city, nor the railroad built from New York to Buffalo, without special authority from the people. The work which the car company or the railroad corporation does is to be paid for. The fruit of their industry belongs to them. But the highway of which they make use in their industry belongs to the people of the city or the State, and the so-called tax paid by the railroad corporation should be so adjusted that the industry of muscle and of brain which has produced and carried on the railroad shall receive its just compensation, which should be paid to those who have constructed and are managing the railroad; and the rental of the highway, whether in the municipality or across the State, should be paid to the people to whom that highway really belongs.

This rental may be charged either in the form of a tax or in the form of a rental. Hitherto franchises, that is, the exclusive right to use a public highway, have been given to private owners, personal or corporate. Sometimes, as in the case of the Pacific Railroad, not only the highway has been given, but a bonus has been added in order to induce the private owner to take the highway as a gift. This was always folly. The folly has been now so demonstrated that to continue to give away these highways is scarcely less than criminal. A single case will serve to illustrate the value to a city which takes possession of its highway and rents it instead of giving it to a corporation.

The Boston subway has been let to the corporation which operates the trolley-cars of that city for 4 7-8 per cent. annually on the cost. This 4 7-8 per cent. meets all interest on municipal bonds, and leaves a surplus sufficient to repay the entire principal invested in less than forty years. The corporation which has hired the subway has leased its lines to another corporation which guarantees seven per cent. on its common stock and eight per cent. on its preferred stock. That is, in the city of Boston, the corporation which operates the trolley-car system makes a profit such as enables it to give satisfactory dividends to its stockholders and pay the whole cost of the subway, principal and interest, in less than forty years. The city of New York, learning a lesson from this and other analogous experiments, has now in a similar manner undertaken to build its own subway. It will build this on money borrowed upon its bonds. It has already leased this subway to a corporation on such terms that at the end of the fifty years the bonds, principal and interest, will have been paid. In other words, the subway will belong to the municipality, though it will not have expended a dollar of the people's taxes in its construction. It is clear that the same principle might be applied to surface roads in town and country, long or short, operated by steam or operated by electricity. Whether this rent shall be paid for the highway by the railroad corporation in the form of a rent or in the form of a tax is immaterial. The essential fact to be noted is that, if the people keep possession of the highways which belong to them, the rentals therefrom would go far toward paying the expenses of the government.

It does not come within the province of this article to go into detailed argument with figures in support of any particular scheme. My object is to give the general reader as clear and coherent an account as I can, in a limited space, of the method which modern thinkers have wrought out, by which the common people can secure joint benefit of the common wealth, without revolution. He who desires to study the philosophy of this plan more fully will find material for his study in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He who desires to estimate scientifically its economic effect will find material for his study in Thomas G. Shearman's "Natural Taxation." He will in the latter book find reasons given for the belief that a fair rental to the people as landlord for

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the value of wild land and its contents, and of public franchises created by and belonging to the people, would be adequate to pay all the expenses of government, municipal, State, and Federal.[1] He will also find there given the reasons for believing that such a rental, instead of increasing the burdens of the agricultural class, would decrease them;[2] and, finally, the reasons for believing that such a rental could be collected with almost absolute equity, since there would be no possibility of concealing the land or the franchise for which the rent would be paid, and not much difficulty in estimating their natural market value. This last, the moral argument for the Single Tax, will, to him who regards ethical considerations as more important than economic, appear of the first importance. It is thus stated in a recent letter by Mr. Charles Francis Adams:

On this moral side, which to my mind is the most important side of all, there can, so far as I see, be but one way of looking at the thing. The Single Tax would be an enormous improvement over the existing system, or over any other system which I think could be devised. It would reduce taxation to a basis of absolute certainty and fairness, rendering evasion impossible. A complete stop would thus be put to the whole system of cheating, and consequent unjust transfer of a burden from those who have no conscience to those who have a conscience—from those who can escape the law to those who cannot escape the law—which is the unanswerable argument against the continuance of the present system—a system which puts a confessed, because quite undeniable, premium on perjury; and no system which puts a premium on perjury admits of justification. This argument alone, to my mind, would be conclusive in favor of the Single Tax. Any possible amount of wrong or injury it might incidentally inflict would to my mind be little more than dust in the balance compared with the advantage which would result, after the thing fairly adjusted itself, from the complete freedom it would bring about from all temptation to evasion and false swearing. From the moral point of view, consequently, there do not seem to be any two sides to the question; and the moral point of view is, in my judgment, the all-important point of view.

The question may be and has been asked, Would not the carrying out of this plan amount to a confiscation of landed values? Henry George concedes that it would, and defends such confiscation on the ground that land is not a proper subject of ownership. He compares the loss to the landowner involved in the Single Tax with the loss to the slaveholder involved in emancipation. The cases do not seem to me parallel. Society has no right to organize a system involving ownership of man; society has a right to organize a system involving ownership in land. If the community thinks the private ownership and control of land is best for the community, it has a right to provide for such private ownership and control; but it has no right to provide for the private ownership and control of one man by another, against the protest of that other, though he be but a minority of one. Society having provided for the private ownership and control of land, and individuals having invested their earnings in that land on the faith of that provision of society, society has no right by revolutionary act to confiscate the property and destroy for the individual owner the economic values which it has itself created. If, therefore, it were proposed suddenly to abolish all taxes on imports, on incomes, on personal and real property, and levy them all on land and its contents and on franchises, the proposition would involve an industrial revolution which would be at once inexpedient and unjust. But no such sudden change is possible. If taxation is taken off from all other objects, and levied only on those things which are properly a common wealth, the change can be wrought out gradually, and there will be time for industry to adjust itself to the new conditions as they are created. There is very little reason to believe that the practical injustice to individuals which would grow out of the adoption of the Single Tax theory, in any way which would be possible in America, would be so great as the injury which has come to individuals through the use of steam and electricity, through the influence of machinery, through the organization of labor and of capital, and through the consequent necessary changes in industrial conditions and in values depending on those conditions.

This and all other changes in economic conditions are, however, in the last analysis, dependent upon changes to be wrought

[1] "Thus all national and local taxes, if collected exclusively from ground rents, would absorb only 44½ per cent. of those rents, leaving to the owners of bare land a clear annual rent of $763,252,000, besides the absolutely untaxed income from all buildings and improvements upon their land."—Natural Taxation, p. 147.

[2] "Thus the farmers would save much more than one-third of their present tax burdens by the concentration of taxes on ground rents alone."—Natural Taxation, p. 193.

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in personal character. Industrial democracy is dependent upon educational democracy. There is no possible way by which the people can obtain the benefits of the common wealth except as they are intelligent and thrifty. They must understand the forces of nature in order to get the fruit which nature is ready to drop into their lap. They must have, in other words, industrial intelligence, and they must have thrift—that is, the moral capacity to spend less than they earn, and not before they have earned it. In a nomadic state man catches a fish or shoots a deer in the morning, cooks it and eats it at night. He lives literally from hand to mouth. In the agricultural period this is no longer possible. He plants corn in the spring, harvests it in the fall, and cannot plant again until the next spring. He therefore must wait for one year from the time of his planting until he is able to plant again, or from the time of his reaping until he is able to reap again. In this one year he will starve if he has not capital; that is, if he, or some one before him, has not laid by, out of previous industry, enough for food supply until the new harvest is ready. In the agricultural state the world may be said to pay its wages once a year; and as agriculture is the basis of all industry, speaking broadly, it may be said that no man has caught up with the world unless he has laid by as much as is equivalent to one year of his expenditures. If he has not done this, he is not living on his real income, but is borrowing from the future. But all investment beyond a year's income is properly investment for power, not for pleasure. The aphorism, Money is power, expresses a very substantial truth. It is power because it is hoarded or solidified industry, the industry of past years, hoarded as sunlight is hoarded in the coal, to be set free for future activities. Until these two simple capacities have been acquired—the capacity to understand and use nature, and the capacity to reservoir, in capital, industry for future necessity—no economic changes will or can permanently secure economic equality or any approximation to it. Thus the considerations presented in this paper lead to the subject of the next lecture, which will be the Educational Rights of Man.

The Mohonk Lodge: An Experiment in Indian Work[1]

By Walter C. Roe

THE tribes living east of the Rocky Mountains are often divided into "plains Indians" and "timber Indians." The names are only in part descriptive of their respective peculiarities. The timber Indians, such as the Iroquois, Hurons, Delawares, Seminoles, and many others whose names appear frequently in the earlier pages of our Nation's history, have made their homes, since the white man has known them, in the wooded regions of the Mississippi Valley and eastward to the Atlantic. Their food supply has depended not only on hunting and fishing, but also on agriculture. Their villages have been fairly permanent; and they have more readily adapted themselves to the conditions of civilized life.

The plains Indians, on the other hand, roamed over the treeless plains which sweep in descending levels from the foothills of the Rockies to the woodlands of the Mississippi. They subsisted by the chase alone. Fish were few in the variable streams of their semi-arid habitat. Agriculture was despised. The buffalo and his habits presents the key to the life and customs of these Western tribes. What the palm is to the Bedouin of the desert or the reindeer to the Arctic Laplander, this, and more, the buffalo represented to the Sioux and Blackfeet, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. His flesh provided food,

[1] The author of this article, the Rev. Walter C. Roe, is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Indian Industries League, an organization with its executive office in Boston, whose object is to encourage the practice of useful arts and industries among the American Indians. Those of our readers who are interested in the general subject can, we think, obtain further information about this excellent organization by addressing its President, Colonel John S. Lockwood, 530 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass., or its Secretary, Miss Frances C. Sparhawk, Wellesley Hills, Mass.

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not only for present need, but, when "jerked" and packed away in the skin perflèche, a store for winter's use. His hide was metamorphosed now into an impervious covering for the tepee, now into clothing to be worn by day or the warm blanket for the couch at night, and again into the horse-trappings, cooking vessels, and various utensils of aboriginal life. The broad, fibrous sinew of the back gave to the woman her thread and to the hunter or warrior his bowstring. The bones, horns, hoofs, and tails played their part in the ornamentation of tepee and clothing, while even the dried offal supplied the much-needed fuel. The village of movable tepees floated hither and thither in the wake of the drifting herds, the extinction of which revolutionized the conditions of the plains Indian's life. His chief occupation, the chase, was gone. The war-path was of necessity discontinued, because, with the passing of the buffalo, his commissariat was destroyed. Thus, his activities gone, averse to agriculture, untrained in any useful art, he was left stranded on the different reservations, a pensioner on Governmental bounty, and a prey to indolence, disease, and vice. The old life having been thus obliterated, a new and better one must be supplied. The dying religion of the medicine-man must be replaced by the Gospel, and to this end the missions are putting forth their consecrated efforts. The simple training of aboriginal life must give way to the more complicated education of civilized society, and to this end the Government and mission schools are bending every energy. The Agent and district farmer, if they are men suited to their difficult tasks and not mere feeders at the political trough, are training these Indians in the white man's methods of self-support and home-making.

But there are other needs of this struggling race, which these official organizations do not reach. Contrary to popular opinion, the Indians are naturally and strongly social. Those who have lived among them testify to their ardent love of games and social festivities. Their habit of living in bands and villages is due not only to a desire for mutual protection, but equally to their strong gregarious tendencies, a characteristic which is in itself one of the greatest obstacles to the success of the allotment system. In the present transitional period their old-time social customs are passing away, and the social instinct among the younger generation is finding its outlet in vice. Any comprehensive scheme for the betterment of the race must include their direction and elevation in social life, and to this end very little is being done outside of the schools.

Again, while the Government is spending money and energy in an attempt to train the men to farm—and this is undoubtedly the wisest policy—the women, the old men, and the weak have absolutely no way of providing for themselves and their families an honorable self-support. Under these conditions the women too often resort to immorality; the old men seek a livelihood through the superstitious practices of the medicine-man; and the weak drag out an existence of dependence, want, and misery.

The returned student also demands his share of solicitude. Unfitted for the camp, and yet with no place but the camp to go to on his return to the reservation, he battles manfully, often heroically, against the adverse conditions of the old life, only, in many cases, to be overpowered and dragged down to the general level—"the tame wolf gone wild again," as an Indian once expressed it.

It was while we were wrestling with problems springing from these and other unfortunate conditions of Indian life that the mistress of the manse, whose busy brain is famous for striking out happy expedients, evolved the idea of what is now the Mohonk Lodge. Originally the plan was a modest one—the building on the mission grounds of a little three-roomed cottage, with simple appointments for home, hospital, and workshop. It was this unpretentious scheme that its originator laid very briefly before the Mohonk Conference of 1898, and straightway the plan that had seemed unattainable materialized in the form of $1,200, put into our hands for its execution by the generous bounty of those who constituted that always generous gathering. By the following spring the many obstacles to the erection of a building on the frontier had been overcome, and within a few steps of the Indian camps on the one hand, and of the mission church and Government school

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on the other, a link between the old and the new, stood the Mohonk Lodge, fully equipped for its mission of unique service.

"The Lodge" contains eight rooms. On the lower floor is a large gathering-room, with its wide-mouthed stone fireplace, tables, easy chairs, books, and games, the resort of all classes, from the old camp Indians seeking warmth at the fire to the little school-girl who comes to revel in the delights of the box of paper dolls. The educated Indians find here an opportunity for reading and writing, and many a night the floor is covered with the sleeping figures of those who have sought refuge from storm or cold.

Adjoining this is the "Industrial Room," intended primarily for the women, and equipped with cook-stove and cooking utensils, two sewing-machines, and several quilting-frames. Opening off from this is the pretty little room of the Lodge matron, which dark eyes often scan curiously, with a view to reproducing its simple attractions in some Indian home on the Washita. Upstairs, under the sloping roof, are storerooms and two bedrooms which have been used by returned students and their wives.

When the building was first erected, many predicted that the Indians would not use it. We adopted the policy of never urging them to come, but supplied the things that they need and want, and left the house open day and night. Occasionally informal receptions were held, with games, story-telling, and a cup of coffee as attraction; or the sliding doors between the two large rooms would be thrown open, while the childlike audience watched breathlessly the shifting pictures of a magic-lantern entertainment. Little by little the sense of strangeness was replaced by a feeling of proprietorship and pride, so that our Indians often boast to those of other districts of the advantages of the "Indian House," as they call it.

We soon realized that to develop adequately the possibilities of the Mohonk Lodge idea there must be, first, a matron who could live in the building and give her undivided attention to its work; and, second, capital with which to carry on an industrial department. For the support of the matron and the running expenses of the Lodge we needed six hundred dollars yearly. Dividing the sum needed into shares of twenty-five dollars each, we sent a statement of the situation to our personal friends of all denominations, with an invitation that they co-operate in the plan. The result was an immediate and most gratifying response, and within a few months the necessary Lodge income for the year was assured.

Meanwhile a most excellent matron had been found, who was ready to enter upon her duties even before her salary could be guaranteed. She combines the qualities of a professional nurse and an experienced housekeeper, and is animated by a genuine missionary spirit, without which even exceptional aptitude would be of little avail. The writer is convinced that the success of any enterprise of this kind among Indians will depend largely upon the ability, spirit, and personal acceptability of the one immediately in charge. She must be doctor, nurse, home-maker, and counselor, and, in the case of the Mohonk Lodge, manager of the details of the "industrial department."

This department became one of the necessary corollaries of expansion. The Indian men have their proper field of activity—the only one which promises substantial prosperity—in the development of their lands. As has been already pointed out, the women and the men who are too old ever to be molded to new industries have had little opportunity to earn an honest livelihood. To supply this opportunity became an essential step in our plans for the larger advancement of these tribes.

In answer to the question, What industry? there were many suggestions, ranging from the running of a laundry to the manufacture of lace. The condemning feature of all was that they were the white man's and not the Indian's industries. Years of intimate association with these people have grounded in us the idea that the underlying mistake of our National policy toward the Indian has been the attempt to crush the Indian out of him. We found a lofty type of the savage, and have succeeded in transforming it into a wretched type of civilized man. Had we, learning a lesson from early French policy, treated the Indian more sympathetically as to his ideas, customs, arts, and even his dress and prejudices, larger results would have been secured. Without making a broader application of this principle,

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we were influenced by it in our determination to revive the beautiful art of bead-work. The Indian woman hates to wash and loves to do bead-work. She is an inferior washerwoman and a superior bead-worker. Why should she not do that which she understands and delights in, rather than what she must acquire and despises? Therefore, trying to put ourselves into the place of our Indian sister, we decided in favor of the bead-work, as against either laundry-work or lace-making. Predictions were made that no market could be found for the goods, but thus far they have found ready sale. At present we cannot keep busy all that apply for work. Several families have been supported through the winter by the industry of the women, and almost every household in the district has been helped. During the eight months since the Industrial Department was established there has been a marked improvement in the quality of the work produced, and to stimulate this we have established a class known as "The Star Workers." These are the best workers of the tribes, to each of whom is given a silver star pendent from a bar on which is engraved the word "Mohonk." These stars have already become prizes much coveted in the eyes of the women.

The articles produced are moccasins of all styles and sizes; purses, bags, and pouches of many varieties; scissors-cases, table-mats; dolls dressed after the Indian mode; and bows and arrows made according to the style of former days by the old men. The bead-work is done chiefly on buckskin, and the only thread used is the fiber of the broad sinew which runs along the back of the steer. The worker uses no needle, but with a fine awl makes a hole through the upper surface of the hide without allowing the stitch to appear on the under side, strings the beads upon the sinew, which she thrusts through the hole already made and draws tight, thus completing a stitch. In this way she covers large surfaces, producing most artistic and symbolic designs by the use of beads of different colors.

Thus the Mohonk Lodge is accomplishing its beneficent mission of refuge, home, and workshop. The keynote of the institution is self-supporting work, and "work" is among the most tremendous words in the vocabulary of Indian administration.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Annals of Politics and Culture (1492–1899). By C. P. Gooch, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 530 pages. $2.25.

An admirable dictionary of events since 1492, including events in the world of thought as well as events in the world of politics.

Beloved Son (The). By M. Rye. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4½×7¼ in. 145 pages.

The story of Christ, condensed in eight brief chapters, is here told in a style suited to children, and printed in type of convenient size for young readers.

Birth: A New Chance. By Columbus Bradford, A.M. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 5×7¾ in. 363 pages. $1.50.

The theory here set forth differs from the theosophical theory of reincarnation. The author holds that the spirit at death does not become discarnate, but retreats back into the primordial germ of the mortal body. From this, provided it has through kindness and mercy maintained a sympathetic connection with the human race, it is again drawn back into the warm currents of breathing life. The author thinks he has found adequate support for this curious theory in the Scriptures, in science, and in philosophy.

Circumstantial Affection. By Nathaniel I. Gillman, Ph.G. F. Tennyson Neely Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 119 pages. $1.

Convert and His Relations (The). By L. W. Munhall, M.A., D.D. Eaton & Mains, New York 5×7½ in. 194 pages. $1.

Dr. Munhall is a successful evangelist, and, as such, is bound to set his converts forward with the wise guidance required by beginners in the Christian way. To have done so in this volume wholly on the old lines is to have done well only in part. There is an old-time loyalty to Christ which needs, as ever, to be strenuously insisted on. But if the Church is to be the salt of the world, the convert's relation to the world is not so predominantly ascetic as here represented. The failure of revivals of religion to develop a civic conscience and a sounder political morality is due to a one-sided emphasis on abstinence from cards, dancing, and theaters as mainly characterizing a Christian's relation to the world.

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One must add, in reference to Dr. Munhall's views of the Bible, that the time is nearly if not already past when the misinformation here given of the hostility of Assyriologists toward the higher criticism can be excused as an innocent error.

Dawn-Thought on the Reconciliation. By J. William Lloyd. The Maugus Press, Wellesley Hills, Mass. 5½×6¾ in. 197 pages.

Elegies of Maximianus (The). Edited by Richard Webster. The Princeton Press, Princeton, N. J. 6×9½ in. 126 pages.

This elegant piece of classical scholarship will sufficiently commend itself to all good Latinists. These six elegies, usually attributed to a real Maximian, on the ground that the hero of the fourth elegy bears that name, show that in the "iron age" of Latin literature there was a mastery of literary form hardly inferior to the Ovidian style, but content with rhetoric and artifice in place of virile power. The theme is old age and regret for the lost pleasures of youth. The unknown author is apparently a pagan prone to cynicism.

Evening Thoughts: Being Notes of a Threefold Pastorate. By Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D., LL.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 284 pages. $1.50.

The thoughts of a veteran pastor in the evening of a long life are naturally attracted to the themes which he has made prominent in his preaching. Hence the title of this volume. The thirty discourses it contains relate to the central truths of the evangelical scheme of salvation. They are strongly conservative in substance, and in form didactic, dignified, and brief.

Everyday Birds: Elementary Studies. By Bradford Torrey. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5½×7¾ in. 106 pages. $1.

Only those who are thoroughly masters of their subject are qualified to write elementary studies. Mr. Torrey is pre-eminently one of those who have a right to speak in an elementary way about the habits of every-day birds, because he brings to his subject the complete knowledge and personal familiarity which are essential in attempting to open up a new field to those who are untrained. In this volume he describes the birds which are almost our household companions and friends in this climate, wherever they have a chance to live unmolested. There are twelve illustrations in color, chiefly after Audubon, though two are reproduced from photographs.

Exercises in French Syntax and Composition. By Jeanne M. Bouvet. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 5×7 in. 186 pages.

First Years in Handicraft. By Walter J. Kenyon. Illustrated. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 124 pages. $1.

This is an attractive and useful manual for training in handwork, not only in school but at home, and prolific of entertainment for rainy days as well as of training for higher products of mechanical art. It is specially for children who have passed the kindergarten stage, but have not reached the grammar grades. The models and working directions given are for the construction out of cheap material, as cover-paper and cardboard, of a great variety of useful articles—trays, boxes, etc.—and the course is graded upward from easy things to the more difficult.

Good Red Earth (The). By Eden Phillpotts. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 328 pages. $1.50.

The soil which Mr. Phillpotts's title celebrates is that of the fair country of Somersetshire and Devonshire, from which Blackmore and Raymond and Phillpotts in his earlier novels have drawn such charming local color and rustic character-portrayal. The present story is slighter than "Children of the Mist" and "Sons of the Morning," but it abounds in humor and raciness. Johnny Fortnight in his rôle of peddler, preacher, and hypocrite is a distinct addition to the little band which includes Pecksniff, Chadband, and Tartuffe. At a later date we may speak more fully of this book.

Great Mystery (The): Two Studies on the Same Subject. By Elizabeth Miller Jefferys and William Hamilton Jefferys, A.M., M.D. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 165 pages. 75c.

The "Mystery" is the Divine Trinity, of which the authors attempt a reasoned explanation. Assuming that the Uncreated Life must be understood from the created, it is pointed out that the human unit is the family—a triunity consisting of father, mother, and child. In God are therefore to be recognized a maternal and a filial element, as well as a paternal; and the maternal in Deity is the Holy Spirit. The thing emphasized in this book is the Motherhood of the Holy Ghost, for which the authors seek evidence first in the Bible and next in Nature. The latter part is the better done.

Guzmán El Bueno. By Don Antonio Gil y Zaráte. Edited by Sylvester Primer, Ph.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 154 pages. 80c.

Hallie Marshall: A True Daughter of the South. By F. P. Williams. The Abbey Press, New York. 5×8 in. 183 pages. $1.

Handel. By C. F. Abdy Williams. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 268 pages. $1.25.

Heath's Home and School Classics. The Crofton Boys, Part I. and II. The Siege of Leyden. The Little Prince, Part I. and II. Crib and Fly. Tales from Munchausen. Waste Not, Want Not, and Other Stories. Three Fairy Stories. The Comedy of Errors. The Winter's Tale. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. Paper bound. 10c. and 15c. each.

These well-printed, paper-covered volumes aim to supply the best reading for schools and for the home at the lowest possible price. They include works so far apart as Martineau's "The Crofton Boys," "The Siege of Leyden" from Motley's history, Miss Mulock's "The Little Lame Prince," Shakespeare's "The Winter's Tale" and "The Comedy of Errors," abridged and edited; Miss Ingelow's "Three Fairy Stories," and a collection of short stories by Miss Edgeworth, Jane Taylor, and Mrs. Barbauld.

Irving's Sketch Book. Complete Edition. Edited by Mary E. Litchfield. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4¾×7½ in. 491 pages. 70c.

This volume is furnished with a biographical introduction, and with notes from the hand of Miss Mary E. Litchfield. It presents the

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entire text of the Sketch Book, and is attractively printed.

Is Christ Infallible and the Bible True? By Rev. Hugh McIntosh, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 680 pages. $3.

Mr. McIntosh fears that the essentials of Christian truth are jeopardized by the new positions which some Christian preachers and scholars have taken in the progress of theological discussion and Biblical criticism. Dr. Watson in his "Mind of the Master," Principal Fairbairn in his "Place of Christ in Modern Theology," and the Ritschlians collectively, excite his apprehension and animadversion. But he thinks it no longer expedient, though he asserts it possible, to make good against them the old thesis of the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures. As a stronger position he takes the ground of their "thorough truthfulness," and maintains this in an elaborate argument, quite too extended to be examined here. As he approves of Dr. Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," notwithstanding its admission of contradictory elements in the books of Samuel, it does not clearly appear what *is* the Bible of which he predicates thorough truthfulness. Apparently the term "Bible" is made to carry a double sense, and one notes that the author explicitly maintains the convenient but dubious hypothesis of "the double sense of Scripture," so convenient for those who "when persecuted in one city flee to another." We doubt whether Mr. McIntosh will convince those brethren for whose errors he is concerned; but his evacuation, under protest, of the crumbling fort of inerrancy seems to prognosticate a coming agreement of opposing views, as soon as clear-cut and definite phraseology can be substituted for that which is ambiguous and evasive.

Leberecht Hühnchen. By Heinrich Seidel. Edited by Arnold Werner-Spanhoofd. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4½×6½ in. 120 pages. 30c.

Lewis and Clark. By W. R. Lighton. (Riverside Biographical Series.) Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 158 pages.

A brief biography of two of the most important men in the early history of this country, whose story is not well known, and is admirably told in this volume. This book ought to be in the hands of every American boy; such a record of courage, resourcefulness, adventure, and achievement has rarely been made, even on this continent. The book is written in a simple, direct style, and is condensed without being desiccated.

Marvels of Modern Mechanism and Their Relation to Social Betterment. By Jerome Bruce Crabtree. With Special Chapters by Carroll D. Wright, LL.D., and Willard Smith, M.D. The King-Richardson Co., Springfield, Mass. Illustrated. 6×8½ in. 750 pages.

This volume is one of great value. Most men know something about the marvels of modern mechanism, but it is to be feared that few men understand just what these marvels are, and especially the extent of their relation to social betterment. For instance, sanitary engineering has rendered impossible the loathsome plagues which once swept over Europe and wiped out whole cities and villages. Again, medical and surgical progress has not only relieved human misery, but has added appreciably to the life of each generation—the author of the volume under consideration mentions the fact that Washington's life might have been prolonged by a simple operation which thousands of physicians are now capable of performing. Of the industrial revolution caused by the introduction of the steam-engine we are tolerably familiar, but we do not always realize that this and other improvements which lighten toil make possible an increased activity in intellectual life. Just as soon as the struggle for food, clothing, and shelter becomes less desperate, mental and also moral growth should become quickened. Mr. Carpenter's volume, to which Dr. Carroll Wright and Dr. Willard Smith contribute special chapters, describes, in untechnical language which a boy can understand, some of the most striking inventions, showing their influence in industrial life. Its highest value, however, lies in its indication of the extent to which these inventions have increased the whole sum of human happiness.

Master-Knot of Human Fate (The). By Ellis Meredith. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 309 pages. $1.25.

In its clear, large print this is a model book for the tired eye, and in its original plot and development a unique novel for minds jaded with commonplace romances. The author sees fit to surround his hero and heroine by the improbability of a new deluge. A vast ocean ruthlessly submerges the Eastern and the Pacific States alike; thus a part of the Rocky Mountains becomes an island, where the two characters—a man and a woman—of the story live in Robinson Crusoe fashion. He plowed and reaped, and she bound the sheaves as best she could. But the main thing to many will not be the description of farm and barnyard and household tasks, but the talk between the two characters, and of that there is a-plenty, though never too much. Their quotations from all sorts of writers, well known and little known, are extremely apt—though one from Lord Avebury is presumably from "The Beauties of Nature" or from "The Pleasures of Life," not from "The Beauties of Life." Adam and Robin discuss many subjects, and the former occasionally breaks forth with some such explosion as this: "Moses was the greatest writer on political economy this earth has ever seen. His absolute fiat against the alienation of the land would have done more for the common people than all Adam Smith's theories of free competition and Fourier's dreams of a perfected communism." More interesting than that on economics is the conversation on psychologic and religious possibilities, and most interesting of all, the discovery of Love, for this man and woman by searching had found out God.

Montanye. By William O. Stoddard. The Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 5×8¼ in. 356 pages.

It was about 1783 that the events here related happened, and the center of action was New York during the last year of the British occupation. The unity of the narrative is in the

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matrimonial destiny of the dominie's daughter, Miss Montanye. In the spinning of this, many stirring stories are told of contemporary happenings more or less connected with it, in piracy, privateering, and the African slave trade, the wrongs and the vengeance of American sailors impressed for service in the British navy, and the secret aid lent by patriots like the Rev. Peter Montanye to the national cause. The historical features of the time are fairly reflected and the narrative is spirited.

Municipal Accounting. Sinking Fund and Instalment Tables. By F. H. Macpherson, C.A. The Book-Keeper Publishing Co., Detroit, Mich. 6×9½ in. 46 pages. $3.

My Master. By Swami Vivekânanda. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 89 pages. 50c.

Sri Ramakrishna, a Hindu saint of the nineteenth century, and the subject of this sketch, was beyond question an extraordinary soul, a "God-intoxicated man," a spirit of matchless moral purity. The portrait drawn of him is at once inspiring and pathetic—inspiring in its revelation of power for self-conquest, pathetic in its exhibition of what a Christian can regard only as a tragic misconception, regarding the way to God as an ascetic way, and the spiritual life as isolated from the social life. Only such a misconception can account for the incongruity, of which Hinduism is unaware, between the exalted ideas of its sages and the degradation of its masses, and for the scandal which Christianity confesses, in the failure of religion to purify politics.

New World and an Old Gospel. By James M. Taylor, D.D., LL.D. The American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia. 5¼×8 in. 44 pages. 10c.

Notes for Teachers of English Composition. By G. R. Carpenter. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 29 pages. 25c.

One of China's Scholars: The Culture and Conversion of a Confucianist. By Mrs. Howard Taylor (née Geraldine Guinness). Morgan & Scott, London, England. 5×7½ in. 280 pages. $1.

This book has special interest in view of the invincible hatred which the influential literary class in China is often said to bear to Christianity—a hatred probably no greater than that of some literary Romans, as Celsus and Lucian, in the second century. The distinguished Confucianist in the present story became the Christian pastor Hsi. The narrative is based on an autobiographical sketch which he furnished to the missionary through whose tact and teaching his eyes had been opened. Embodying interesting details concerning the family and social life and the competing religions of China in its story of the scholar's quest for knowledge of the mystery of life and death, of good and evil, it not only strikes the deepest chords of human sympathy, but inspires hope as well as pity for poor China, able to breed such men.

Orestes A. Brownson's Latter Life: From 1856 to 1876. By Henry F. Brownson. H. F. Brownson, Publisher, Detroit, Mich. 6×9½ in. 629 pages. $3.

The life of this great journalist, the greatest who has ever served the Roman Catholic Church in this country, has a peculiar interest for all Americans, as showing the extent to which a strong man can assert intellectual freedom in that Church, and also the difficulties confronting its exercise. In the later period of his life Brownson lived in New York, an early and to some extent successful exponent of the type of Catholicism more recently known as "Americanism." He was a free critic of the hierarchy, and suspended the publication of his Review for a time because of the distrust of him it awakened among its members. A Roman Catholic writer says of him: "At his feet, more than those of any other man who taught in America, have the Catholic Bishops sat to hear words of wisdom on the relative position of things divine and human in this country." This volume, with the two preceding it, constitutes a deserved memorial of a deeply religious and courageous soul.

Politics and the Moral Law. By Gustave Ruemelin. Translated from the German by Rudolf Tombo, Jr., Ph.D. Edited by Frederick W. Holls, D.C.L. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 125 pages. 75c.

This address of Professor Ruemelin, which was delivered before the students of the University of Tübingen in 1874, has now been translated and published as a defense of the Administration against the charge of having violated the rules of ordinary morality in its acquisition of the Spanish colonies. The introduction, prepared by Dr. Frederick W. Holls, of the Hague Commission, is a much cleverer and stronger piece of work than the address to which it is an accompaniment. Dr. Holls merely takes the position that duties sometimes conflict; and no one can dispute this, if by it is meant that the greater good should often be sought at the sacrifice of a lesser. Professor Ruemelin, however, does not confine himself to a position so easily defended. "It is," he says, "justifiable to commit, in the interest of the public weal, actions which are unconditionally forbidden by law and morality. . . . It is impracticable to demand from the community itself the same course of action or omission as from its members," and he seeks to justify this assertion by pointing out that two of the Ten Commandments, the command to honor thy father and thy mother, and the command not to commit adultery, can have no application to the State, since the State has neither parents nor wife. But there are a great many individuals who have neither parents nor wife, and yet even this writer does not, on this account, deny that the Ten Commandments apply to all individuals. But this alleged inapplicability of the Ten Commandments is merely the beginning of his contention. "The moral law," he rightly says, "is for the individual the law of love;" but "how," he asks, "can the Golden Rule be applied to the relation of one State to another? None of the ties that bind man to man can join State to State. . . . The entire chapter of the duties of love, which is the chief doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the conduct of the State. A nation depends, not upon the love of others, but upon the love of self. . . . The interests of a foreign State can be regarded only in so far as they do not conflict with our own." The author defends him-

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self against the charge of Machiavellianism by pointing out that he merely contends that "the State, the keystone of all moral order, cannot be governed in accordance with the same rules of moral law which are applied to each individual citizen," while Machiavelli contended that the individual statesman might resort to crime "in order to attain or keep his ascendency within the State." Even this distinction, however, loses its importance when we reflect that personal rulers filled much the same rôle in Machiavelli's philosophy that the State fills in Professor Ruemelin's. It is perhaps needless for us to add that few defenders of the Administration will indorse Professor Ruemelin's moral philosophy. The whole address seems to us to illustrate the point of Mr. Augustine Birrell's observation quoted by Dr. Holls, that "nothing so much tends to blur moral distinctions and to obliterate plain duties as the free indulgence of speculative habits."

Queen Victoria, 1819-1901. By Richard R. Holmes, M.V.O., F.S.A. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 330 pages. $1.50.

A new edition of a well-known life of the late Queen by the Librarian at Windsor Castle, with portrait and supplementary chapter, bringing the narrative to the death of the Queen.

Reading: A Manual for Teachers. By Mary E. Laing. (Heath's Pedagogical Library.) D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 167 pages. 75c.

This is a book to be welcomed by progressive teachers. It deals with a subject confessedly difficult in the light which psychological study and practical experience have thrown upon it. The aim is to lift this fundamental branch of education out of the ruts of mere mechanical drill into that discipline of thought-processes through which it becomes the key to all culture.

Romance of the Heavens (The). By A. W. Bickerton. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 284 pages. $1.25.

The non-scientific reader may be grateful for the simple style in which Professor Bickerton has cast his theory of impact, which years of study and observation have convinced him as explaining the formation, not of our solar system alone, but of the double and variable stars, the nebulæ and meteoric phenomena of the heavens. As the reading of Plato lifts one's mind above the commonplace into the lofty regions of ethics, so this "romance," whose characters are stars whose light travels hundreds of years before reaching us, and atoms flying at speeds of hundreds upon hundreds of miles per second, takes one away from petty thoughts to reflect upon the dignity of being an inhabitant of this stupendous and —as Professor Bickerton believes is proved— eternal universe.

Shoemaker's Best Selections for Readings and Recitations. Number 26. Compiled by Mrs. J. W. Shoemaker. The Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia. 4½×7 in. 209 pages. 30c.

Spanish People (The): Their Origin, Growth, and Influence. By Martin A. S. Hume. (The Great Peoples Series. Edited by Dr. York Powell.) D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 535 pages. $1.50.

When Lord Salisbury uttered his biting word about the dying Latin nations, people naturally thought first of Spain in her impotent war for Cuba. No one can so think who reads this work of a distinguished specialist in history; one sees vital stamina in the Spanish people, able to recover from long and wasting disorders. There is a tenacity of the earliest racial characteristics, a local patriotism, a valuation of individuality and of personal independence, which make Spain, as Dr. Hume says, the most democratic, in a social view, of all European countries. On such a basis, derived from a Semitic ancestry, Rome reared the edifice of civilized society; but whatever becomes of the superstructure, the basis remains rich in possibilities. Spain's recent losses are only an entail of the evil times that are passing away. The danger that Dr. Hume sees in "the ineradicable desire of certain regions to assert autonomy" is a danger pregnant with hope of a "permanent position among the reborn nations." The history that he records is of a great but misled and suffering people. Fanatical Philip II., whose disastrous reign left Spain bleeding to death, only personified its national traits, "its intense personality, its ecstatic veneration for divine forces, its constant yearning for distinction by sacrifice in vanquishing the forces of evil." Of only such a people could it be said that in such a period of her political decadence and humiliation as the seventeenth century the world's debt to her for works of art and literature was the greatest. The volume in which the development and the vicissitudes of this composite people are related possesses scholarly merit and popular interest in a degree that promises much for the series which it begins.

Talks on Civics. By Henry Holt. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 493 pages. $1.25.

Text-Book of Psychology for Secondary Schools. By Daniel Putnam, LL.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 300 pages. $1.

Traveling in the Holy Land Through the Stereoscope. A Tour Personally Conducted by Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, D.D. One Hundred Stereoscopic Photographs of Palestine. Underwood & Underwood, New York. 5¼×7 in. 195 pages.

It is not alone the steam-engine and the automobile that make traveling in these days easy. By means of these pictures one may have a trip in Palestine without crossing the ocean. The stereoscope, giving the effect of space and distance, makes, barring color, lifelike representations of scenes in the Holy Land. The pictures are planned to be an aid to the student of Biblical history, and do not profess to be works of art, and must therefore be judged, not from the point of the art lover, but from that of the traveler and student. In customs the country has changed little since Bible days, and in topography less, and reality is given to many Scripture lessons as one looks out on the plains and hills where patriarchs and apostles walked and taught. Dr. Hurlbut's book of commentary and history and Scripture reference is useful as a guide-book, and we commend this little outfit for a journey through the Holy Land to Sunday-school and Bible classes and readers of the Bible.

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Trend of the Centuries (The). By Rev. Andrew W. Archibald, D.D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5×8 in. 419 pages. $1.25.

The purpose of this series of historical sketches is to evince the Providential order of the world. The style is that of a popular preacher before a plain audience. With a free and sometimes uncritical use of materials, he deals with great subjects, such as Cyrus, Wycliffe, Wesley, the Crusades, the Spanish Armada, the Pilgrims, in a vivid and impressive way. The lesson of each chapter—the same lesson taught by the Book of Esther, the divine control of events—is cumulatively enforced by the whole.

Vain Repetitions; or, The Protestant Meaning of Batta. By the Rev. Joseph F. Sheahan. The Cathedral Library Association, New York. 4½×7 in. 93 pages.

Vengeance of the Mob (The). By Sam. A. Hamilton. The Abbey Press, New York. 5×8 in. 206 pages. $1.

Wit and Humor of the Parson: A Book for "Blue Monday." By Rev. Frank J. Mallett, B.D. The Church Publishing Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 231 pages.

Wit and Wisdom of Jesus (The). By George Wright Buckley. The James H. West Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 213 pages. $1.

Mr. Buckley has furnished here abundant material for an instructive and thoughtful hour. His book is a good antidote or prophylactic to the conventionalism and literalism that bleach out the tints of real life in the Gospel narratives. He shows pleasantry, repartee, satire, ridicule, irony, invective, all sanctified in Jesus' discourse by a divine purpose. But, except through an unusual definition of the term "humor," one will not be able to see it in some connections where Mr. Buckley points to it, as in the parable of the Last Judgment. To constitute humor, in the proper sense of the word, there must be some little dash of caprice, looking at things as it wills to look at them.

Wizard's Knot (The). By William Barry. The Century Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 406 pages. $1.50.

A story of Irish life, which introduces incidentally and effectively the misery of the condition of the peasants, with a strong infusion of Celtic superstition, and which has as its central figure a well-drawn but very repellent woman, with two or three subsidiary love stories; a novel not without considerable merit, but unpleasant in the totality of its impression, and lacking clearness and deftness of construction.

Woman Who Trusted (The). By Will N. Harben. Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 257 pages.

Writings of King Alfred (The). By Frederic Harrison, M.A. (An Address delivered at Harvard College, Mass., March, 1901.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 31 pages.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

In the "Advance Almanac" for the present year the subject for the prayer-meeting topic for this week was, "What are three of the most important doctrines of Christianity?" We had many doctrines proposed, but did not decide on what three are most fundamental. Can you answer for the benefit of those who are not theologians, yet wish to be able to answer if they are ever questioned? R. L.

(1) The Incarnation, broadly conceived as the indwelling of the divine Life in humanity, and so comprehending the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men; (2) the Kingdom of God as the divine order to be progressively realized in human society under the headship of the Christ; (3) the eternal life beginning here in the Christ-inspired individual and consummated in immortality.

I want to preach a series of sermons on "The Sermon on the Mount." Will you kindly suggest two or three of the most helpful books you know for this purpose? W. L. A.

The Rev. W. B. Wright's "Master and Men" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, $1.25); Dr. J. Oswald Dykes's "Manifesto of the King;" Dr. R. W. Dale's "Laws of Christ for Common Life" ($2.50).

If you will name several works which treat of the obligation of English and American literature to the Bible, you will confer a favor upon J. F. F.

Bell's "Biblical and Shakespearean Characters Compared;" (Simpkin & Co., London); Cook's little book on "The Bible and English Style;" also his "Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers" (Macmillan, $3).

1. Kindly refer me to a list of books, or some one book, dealing with concentration, how to acquire and strengthen it. 2. I am exceedingly anxious to read some two or three biographies especially dealing with mastery over self and improvement of time and opportunity. A. M. Y.

1. This exercise of will in focusing the mind upon an object can no more be learned from a book than swimming can. You have simply to practice at it till you are master of it. 2. Samuel Smiles's book on "Self-Help" is full of short biographical sketches of such men (Harper & Brothers, New York, $1.50). Another of this sort is Mathews's "How to Get On in the World" (Griggs & Co., Chicago).

Which is the best university in Germany to study philosophy in? Are there any lectures in philosophy given in English? F.

Most students prefer Berlin at present.

Can any reader tell me who wrote the following lines?

Lo, as some ship outworn and overladen
Strains for the harbor where her sails are furled;
Lo, as some innocent and eager maiden
Leans over the wistful limit of the world:

So even I, yet with a pang more thrilling;
So even I, yet with a love more sweet,
Yearn for the sign, O Christ, of thy fulfilling,
Faint for the flaming advent of thy feet. **

Can any one tell me where I can find a little drama called "Ces Messieurs"? P. B. Y.

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Correspondence

Reading for the Soldiers

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Two years ago I asked your readers for copies of The Outlook and other magazines and books for distribution among troops serving in our new possessions. In response to this request and other similar ones in different papers, I was enabled to forward from my recent post between two and three tons of reading matter. I desire to renew the request, suggesting that all matter be forwarded by mail to the address below. If I receive matter in excess of what is needed to supply my own regiment, I will forward the excess to other commands in the Philippines.

ORVILLE J. NAVE,
Chaplain Third Infantry, Manila, P. I.

Books for Alaska

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Permit me through your columns to thank those of your readers who were so kind as to respond to the appeal for books and magazines for the St. Bernard Library at Nome, Alaska. We have endeavored to reach them by personal letter, but it is possible, indeed likely, that some of them have been overlooked, owing to the recent changes in the work. With your permission, I would renew the appeal. The library is rendering splendid service.

Nome, Alaska. WILLIAM DAVIES.

Whites and Negroes

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I have read with more than ordinary interest the article in your issue of this week in which a Southerner gives his views on Mr. Washington and Tuskegee. It is an excellent article, and the more thoughtful of us who read it can easily discern between the lines an evidence, or rather many evidences, of the gradual emancipation of our Southern white friends from their bondage of social prejudice which has ever more than balanced the scales against the negro. Not that social equality, in its literal sense, will ever become a reality, save as it is a reality now—as is evidenced by the constantly growing multitude of "bright negroes," *i.e.*, mulattoes—but, rather, that the impossibility of such a condition ever arising is so firmly impressing itself upon the perceptions of the Southern white people that they will in time cease to make bugbears and bogies out of the social equality and negro domination scarecrows. There are many who believe that much of the prejudice in the South is inspired by this fear, but the fact is that social equality, save in a rather loosely defined sense, does not exist in either race, and never will exist between the races, except as it exists now. The gentleman is correct in this case. We all feel, whenever a Southern white man calls us "Mister," that he is about to ask for something that he wants badly and can get in no other way than by implying in his intercourse that he regards us as gentlemen—that word always being regarded by him as synonymous with "Mister." On all other occasions they dodge the issue, and when they feel safe in so doing, claim, as this writer points out, relationship with the older ones of our people; the younger ones are always called "boys."

After all, very much of the oppression in this section is a case of being in Rome and being governed by its customs. The Southern man rarely carries his prejudices into other sections of the country. I remember once meeting a very eminent Southerner at Niagara Falls, and, having known him in the South, spoke to him. He recognized me and showed me courtesies which indicated an utter absence of any race antagonism. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that what we call prejudice is, more than anything else, but the last gasps of a spirit of caste, born with slavery, and intensified by two hundred and forty years of existence. Thirty-five years of freedom have not eradicated it, but with the passing of the present generation the New South, with new customs and a new civilization, will strip itself of race antagonism and claim the commercial supremacy to which its soil and climate entitle it. W. J. WHITE, JR.

The "Georgia Baptist," Augusta, Ga.

Dr. Furnivall

To the Editors of The Outlook:

A month ago I sent a copy of the last report of the Tuskegee Institute to my

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friend Dr. F. J. Furnivall, of London, and he has inserted the following notice of it in the "Westminster Gazette" for April 11:

On the question of negro progress in America, the last—the nineteenth—report of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for Negroes, in Alabama, is very cheering. The students built their own chapel. Last year a colored man drew the plans of their Memorial Trades Building, two stories high; negro students made 800,000 bricks for it, then laid them, and did all the plastering and carpentry work, painting, and tin-roofing. The students cultivate daily 700 acres of land, milk and care for seventy-five cows, look after 619 hogs, do all the work of the place, and are taught all kinds of trades. The girls cook, laundry, sew, raise poultry, see to bees, dairying, gardening, fruit-growing, etc. There are 321 young women and 762 young men. All are trained academically as well as industrially, and the negro graduates are scattered all over the South, not only helping their fellow colored folk, but striving to cultivate friendly feeling between the races. Enlightened Northerners help the movement, though some of them are afraid to print their names. But Mr. John D. Rockefeller is not; his contribution is twelve thousand five hundred dollars. "With constant, tangible, visible, indisputable progress being made, the well-wishers of the negro and the States may feel that America's great difficulty is in process of solution, however slow it may prove."

Dr. Furnivall, as many of your readers are aware, is perhaps the greatest living authority on early English literature, and an eminent scholar in our literature generally, having founded the Chaucer Society, the Early English Text Society, the New Shakespeare Society, the Browning Society, and I don't know how many others. He was seventy-five years old—or young rather—in February, 1900, when many of his literary friends in England, Germany, and this country united in preparing a volume of papers on philological subjects, which was presented to him in honor of the occasion. It has been brought out in elegant form by the Clarendon Press at Oxford.

Dr. Furnivall has been actively interested in the workingmen and working-girls of London. He was a coadjutor of the Rev. F. D. Maurice in founding the Workingmen's College, and in its early days wore corduroys, so that the men might feel at home with him. He has more recently established the Hammersmith Girls' Sculling Club (to which men are also admitted), and being, notwithstanding his seventy-six years, an enthusiastic oarsman, joins them about every week in their rowing excursions on the Thames, as well as their picnics and other social and literary gatherings. At a tea given not long ago by the men of the College to one hundred and twenty poor children, at his suggestion, he might have been seen joining in their juvenile games with the zest of a boy of ten or eleven. His son, Percy Furnivall, a rising young doctor, used to be a bicycle "champion," having once been the winner of the Surrey Cup, but at present is more devoted to golf. W. J. ROLFE.

Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Lecky Corrected

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In Dr. Abbott's third article on "The Rights of Man" it is stated, on the authority of Professor Lecky, that leaders of the Wesleyan revival in the eighteenth century "'were never tired of urging that all men are in a state of damnation who have not experienced a sudden, violent, and supernatural change' . . . accompanied or followed by 'an absolute assurance of salvation and by a complete dominion over sin.'"

On the contrary, that the real leaders of that movement did "tire" of the extreme doctrine in question is evidenced by the following utterance of John Wesley himself: "When, fifty years ago, my brother Charles and I, in the simplicity of our hearts, taught the people that unless they *knew* their sins were forgiven they were under the wrath and curse of God, I marvel they did not stone us. The Methodists, I hope, know better now. We preach assurance, as we always did, as a common privilege of the children of God, but we do not enforce it under pain of damnation denounced on all who enjoy it not." (Quoted by J. H. Overton, "John Wesley," page 84.)

Whatever may be the traditional belief of many Methodists, I doubt if any representative Methodist authority has ever officially promulgated any doctrine of assurance stronger than the almost catholic faith that every disciple may, if he will, enter into an unmistakable communion with the Holy Spirit and enjoy a personal consciousness of acceptance with the Lord. W. M. BALCH,

Pastor of the M. E. Church, Fairbury, Nebraska.

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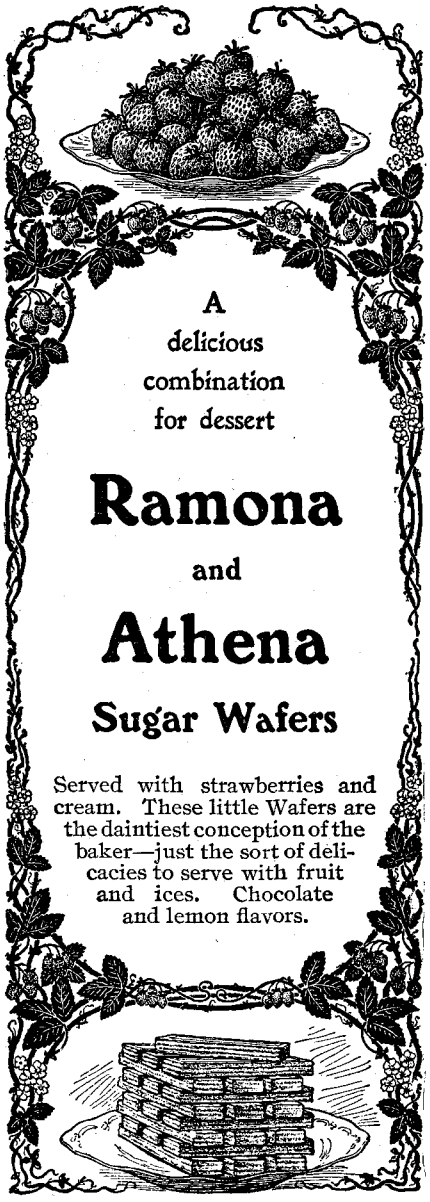

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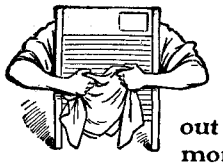

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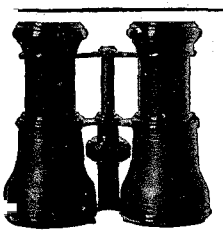

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